

Just answer me this Question, By
what Law did the People of
England bring their Sovereign
Charles the first to Justice?

By what Law? Why by all
the Law he had left them.



Lord Peterborough, was asked
one day by a Frenchman,
if we had the Ceremonies of Coro-
nation (meaning anointing) of
a King amongst us: 'Sacre ton
les Rois chez vous' milord?
'Qui' replied the witty Peer, 'On
les sacre, et on les eMas:
'sacre, aussi'.

London. Bound by Paris.
Lambert changes and
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in 1703.

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No. 10. The first letter of the word



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KING OF ENGLAND. &c.

*This poor King's Death with truth proclaim
For he got Glory, but the Nation Shame.*

R. Goussier del.

England's Black Tribunal.

Set forth in the

TRYAL OF King CHARLES I.

By the pretended High Court of Justice in
Westminster-Hall, Jan 20. 1648. Togeth-
er with His Majesties Speech, on the
Scaffold Erected at White-Hall-Gate, Tues-
day, Jan. 30. 1648.

Also a Perfect Relation of the Sufferings, and
Death of divers of the Nobility and Gentry,
who were Inhumanly Murther'd for their Con-
stant Loyalty to their Sovereign Lord the King:
Together with their several *Dying Speeches*:
From the Year 1642 to 1658. viz.

Earl of *Strafford*.
Arch-Bishop of *Canter-*
bury.
Duke *Hamilton*.
Earl of *Holland*.
Arthur Lord Capel.
James Earl of Derby.
Marquess of *Montross*.
Col. *William Sybbald*.

Col. *Eusebius Andrews*.
Col. *John Penruddock*.
Col. *Gerrard*.
Sir *Henry Hyde*.
Sir *Henry Slingsby*.
Col. *John Morris*.
Cor. *Blackburne*.
Cor. *Hugh Grove*.
Dr. *John Hewys*.

The Fourth Edition;

To which is added, *An Historical Preface,*
By a True Churchman.

London, Printed for *H. Playford* in the Temple-
Change, and *C. Sawbridge* in Little Bri. in 1703.

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THE P R E F A C E.

IT hath been a common Observation, even to a Proverb, though a right use hath rarely been made of it, That *what is Best and most Excellent in its Nature and Use, becomes the Worst and most Pernicious in its Corruption and Abuse.* Food in Health, and Physick for the Recovery of Health, are not only necessary, but have a peculiar Excellency in their Kind; without the one we cannot live at all, and if any thing amiss befalls us, (which is frequently the Case of most Persons) without the help of Medicine to recover a sound State, all the Comforts of Life vanish: But if our Diets be render'd Unwholesome, and our Medicaments Corrupted, our Food becomes our Poyson, and our Remedies our Disease, and instead of expecting Sustenance or Succour from either, we may cry out with the Sons of the Prophets, (2 Kings 4. 40.) *There is Death in the Pot.* So also our Rights, Liberties and Properties are secured to us by the Laws; and where there are good Laws, and those good Laws in good Hands, there either is no Wrong done, or a speedy Remedy; so that there is no where such comfortable and safe living, as where just Laws are put in Execution by Righteous Judges: But when the Sense and

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true Meaning of the Laws is perverted, when they are made use of contrary to their Ends and Designs to serve wicked Purposes, when they are managed by Corrupt Judges, or seiz'd by Unjust Powers, then what was intended for our *Security* becomes our Destruction, and not only Mens *Liberties* and *Estates*, but their very *Lives* are taken away under the plea and colour of those *Laws*, which were originally and truly design'd for their *Protection* and *Preservation*. But of all things, nothing hath a greater and more powerful Influence on the Affairs of Human Life, than *Religion*, as that which Affects not only their *present* Concern, but their *future* and *eternal* Welfare. Now when *Religion* is True, Pure, and Undeild, it is always *Peaceable*; it sweetens our sour and corrupt Natures, it not only tyes up Mens hands from doing harm, but enclines them to do all goodness and kindness, and that not only to Friends and Relations, but to all sorts of Men, yea even to our Enemies; it not only restrains Men from doing, but from so much as contriving, meditating, or thinking any wrong or detriment to others; so that did *Religion* in its Truth and Power possess Mens *Souls*, it would have that Effect upon their *Lives* and *Actions*, that they wou'd be a constant Comfort, Succour, and Assistance to each other, and so careful and tender wou'd they be of one another's Good, that it wou'd bring down a kind of *Heaven* upon *Earth*; but when once *Ill Principles* are imbib'd under the Notion of *Religion*, instead of cooling Mens *Heats*, it sets them on *Fire*; no stop

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can be put to the most outrageous Proceedings; for they Glory in the most horrid Villanies, as the carrying on *God's Cause*, and really possess themselves with an Opinion, That the Killing even the best of Men is doing him Service; There can be nothing more *Barbarous* and *Bloody-Minded* than a *Mad Zealot*. This is palpably Evident in the Case of the *Jews*, who not only Stoned and Killed their *Prophets*, but under a Notion of Zeal for their *Temple* and *Law*, often sought occasion to Murder even their *Saviour* himself; and in the end effected it. But I think we, of all Men, have little need to seek for Instances abroad, who have such Numerous and Tragical Examples of it at home, that we may Cry out with the Poet,

Quid non Religio potuit Suadere malorum?

We have known the best of Kings, in the open face of the World, with the impudent Pageantry and Pretence of Justice, contrary to all Law, Justice, and Piety, by his own Subjects, in cold Blood solemnly Butcher'd at his own Palace Gate; the chiefest and best of his faithful Subjects pickt out to be made publick Sacrifices, Thousands Slaughter'd, so that the Nation was made little better than a Common Shambles: The rest Harass'd, Imprison'd, Sequestred, Fined, till they were undone, and at length come to that desperate bloody Debate, that had not *one single Vote* turn'd the Scales, it had been resolv'd to *Massacre* every Mother's Child, that had any thing of *Honesty* or *Loyalty*

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remaining in them. And after all this, they were not so demure Villains, as only to wipe their Mouths, and say they had done no Hurt, but openly vaunted that they had wrought a *Blessed Reformation*; call'd it, Fighting God's Battles, when it was against his *Anointed*; Plunder and Robbery was spoiling the *Ægyptians*, Murdering *faithful Subjects* was bringing *Delinquents* to Justice; and as if the altering the Names could change the Nature of Things, the most *Sanguinary Actions* and *Unparallel'd Villanies* they endeavour'd to Sanctify with the Stile of carrying on the *Cause of God and Religion*; as if *Religion* could justify the utmost *Impiety*, and *God* could be pleas'd with what *Hell* would blush at.

Such shameless Proceedings and matchless Barbarities having been notoriously Acted among us, of which, perhaps, we in some measure feel the Effects at this Day; and God knows whether in time we may not much more, if due care be not taken in time to remove the Causes; for where there is the same Debauchery of Principles and Rancour of Mind, it may justly be expected that it should break out into the same practices, whenever an unhappy Opportunity offers it self; upon this account then, it may not be unadvisable to enquire after the Occasions and Causes of such Mischiefs, by what steps and degrees they grew Ripe, and how brought about; that we may either thence learn how to prevent them for the future, or at least how to take an honest Care of our selves, and how to de-

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mean and behave our selves as becomes Christians under such difficult Circumstances.

The whole World, I think, may have just Cause to Curse those Men who first set *Honesty* and *Policy* together by the Ears; for tho' *Honesty* may often want the Assistance of *Prudence* for its good Conduct and Management, yet no Arts or Contrivances, how Specious soever, ought to be allowed, which are separate from *Honesty*; nay let them be never so Fine and Politick, the more remote they are from *Honesty*, the more they ought to be Abominated; and though they may seem to serve some present turn, and gain considerable Advantage; yet often in their Consequence and in process of Time they bring on a greater Mischief; of which, if we are not, I think we may and ought to be sensible in our own Case. If the Seventeen Provinces were upon such Terms with respect to their Subjection to *Philip the 2d King of Spain*, That if he violated certain *Conditions*, he did then fall from his *Sovereignty* over them, and they might resume their *Liberty*, and settle under what sort of Government they pleas'd; then they ought not to be said to *Rebel*, but to Assert their *Rights*; and those Provinces now under the King of *Spain*, might have lawfully done the same thing which was done by those now called the *United Netherlands*: But if there were no such Conditions, or those Conditions not broken, then their Opposition would be no other but *Rebellion*; and until such time as he quitted or renounc'd it, he had as good

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Right to the Democratical Provinces, as to those others which continue under his Subjection. Reasons on both sides were urg'd in Council, both for and against Queen *Elizabeth's* undertaking their Protection, which are set down by Mr. *Cambden* in his Annals, and truly to me it seems somewhat odd to set up such a Sovereignty as should constantly Tempt Subjects (too forward of themselves) to *Resistance*, and furnish them with a Pretence to *Justify* it; and on the other hand the *Dutch* would take it very ill at this time of Day, to be told they were once *Rebels*, though they taught the *English* to be such, and therefore I will not meddle with the determination of the Case, but shall only make some little Enquiry, what Influence that falling out may by times have had upon us.

Whatever Advantage they may seem to gain thereby, it is of dangerous Consequence for Princes to stir up the Subjects of other Princes to Rebellion, and still worse to assist them in it; for thereby they not only set an Example, but as it were, Sign a Warrant for their own Subjects to take the same course, whenever the like Incitements, Provocations, and Opportunities are given them. *Philip* the 2^d King of *Spain* was thought to be the most Politick Prince of his time, and though he seem'd to be very Devout, and strictly Religious, yet his Conscience never bogled at any Practices which might advance his Interest and Grandeur. His Wife, Queen *Mary*, dying without Issue, he lost the sweet Morsel of *England*. by which he might not only have kept the *Netherlands* in awe, but hoped to have laid

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a Foundation for the *Western Monarchy*; and when he found he could by no means gain his Ends upon Queen *Elizabeth*, he became her implacable Enemy, and by both secret and Open Practices endeavour'd to dethrone her, and possess himself of her Kingdom. At first *Emissaries* were sent over to stir up her Subjects of the *Roman Faction* to Rebellion, with the Encouragement of Foreign Aids to Assist them; and Plots and Contrivances were laid to take away her Life by *Poyson*, or otherwise, till at last it came to open Force; but by the Providence of God, and prudent Care of her and her Council, all his Projects were Defeated, and still turn'd to his own Hurt and Damage. But the Queen, enraged at such foul and dangerous Practices, began to entertain Thoughts, That that which was Sawce for a *Goose*, might serve for Sawce for a *Gander*; and endeavour'd to repay him in his own kind: To this end, by assisting the *Dutch* against him, she raised such a Combustion in his own Bowels, that the *Spanish Monarchy* hath ever since been, more or less, troubled with the Gripes; and instead of *Recovering* its former *Greatness*, hath ever since *Decay'd* both in *Power* and *Interest*.

It is true, that by this *Dangerous*, I had almost said, *Desperate* Course, she drove the Wolf from her own Door, but whether we are not in a great measure indebted to it for other ensuing Mischiefs, I leave to the consideration of those, who will be at the Pains to enquire and observe what followed thereupon. *Camb-*
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den Observes of *Holland* and those parts, That it was *Ferax Hereticorum Provincia*, tho' now we have so far out-stript our first Instructors, That we may be Stiled *Feracior Hereticorum Insula*; in requital for our *Assistance* and *Trade*, they furnish'd us with *new-fangled* and *turbulent Opinions*; and from thence with the first (as my Author tells me) came over hither a most pernicious Sect, under a most specious and inviting Name, call'd, *The Family of Love*; among the Doctrines they taught, he sets down these, *Solos in illam familiam adscitos electos esse & salvandos, reliquos omnes reprobos & damnandos; illisq; licitum esse negare jurejurando quicquid lubet coram Magistatu, aut quovis alio, qui non sit ex ipsorum Familia.* I am not careful to Translate it, because I think it better in *Latin* than *English*, though good in no *Language*. Besides these, there arose a hot sort of Men of embittered and daring Spirits, who inveigh'd against the *Government* and *Discipline* of the *Church* (which was a Curb to their Extravagance) as *Anti-Christian* and *Popish*, and set up for *Reformers*. And upon what foot soever the *Dutch* at first maintain'd their Revolt from the *Spaniard*, it is plain that as they grew in Strength, they fram'd to themselves Schemes, of *Anti-Monarchical Principles*; and many of our Soldiers, and Merchants, and People that were among them, either imbib'd them unawars, or were deluded with them, or took them up upon Discontent, or the like Causes; till at length those who were at first despised or neglected, began to grow numerous and troublesome, and offer

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offer at the Disturbance of the State, which when Queen *Elizabeth* discovered, she Executed some of the Ring-leaders, which so Ter-
rified the rest, that they either sculk'd in Cor-
ners, or behav'd themselves with more Mode-
sty, and she had quiet for her Time. If any
blame her for this necessary Severity, they
may do well to consider, Whether it be not
better and easier to stop a Mischief in the be-
ginning, than to give it time till it grow too
strong for you?

This sharp Warning did neither Convert,
nor Convince these Men of lewd Principles,
but taught them more Cunning than to shew
their Teeth, till they could Bite; But then
followed the soft and peaceable Reign of King
James the 1st, which gave them, if not all
the Advantages they desired, yet more than
they could have hoped for. He came to the
Crown with an unquestionable Title, but be-
ing a Foreigner born, and coming from a
People betwixt whom and his *English* Subjects
there had been long Animosities and Quar-
rels, it concern'd him to win them all he
could with Affability and Courtesy, tho' this
too often hath a contrary Effect upon ill Na-
tures and designing Persons: Another Faculty
he had, which contributed much to their
growth and multiplication; for being bred a
Scholar, and of himself Bookishly inclin'd,
he had perhaps somewhat too much Confidence
in his own Abilities that way, and thought
to bring these People over and Convince them
by Argument; but when Men are Riveted in

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an Interest, and have set their Heart on a Design, bare Reasoning rarely prevails with them. His admitting them to Conferences, gave a Reputation to their Party, and made them considerable in the Eyes of the People; and tho' they were baffled in the Dispute, yet they took the Confidence to Report it otherwise, and boasted how the King and his Bishops were worsted, and this lessen'd their Esteem both of him and the Church, and confirm'd them in the Opinion of their own way. It perhaps was not amiss to hear what they could say for themselves, and to give them Satisfaction by Reason; but the Case being clear'd, it concern'd a King to *Rule* as well as to *Talk*. This easiness gave them Opportunity to encrease and strengthen themselves, and new Opinions were broach'd, but however they disagreed among themselves, still they unanimously bent themselves against *Church* and *State* as their *Common Enemy*: And for their greater Encouragement, there was a violent heady Party in *Scotland*, which added life to their Projects, and hopes to gain their Design in time. What Prudence there was in sending a Bishop to the Synod of *Dort*, when the *Dutch* had laid aside that Order, and sacrilegiously Seiz'd the Revenues of the Church, and converted them to their own use, I will be no Judge. But some have not stuck to say, That it look'd too much like a tacit Approbation of those who were forming *Presbyteries* at Home, and a Derogation to the Order of *Bishops*, to send one to sit and Vote among those, whose Mis-

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sion and Authority was at best disputable, and who were known Enemies of the Order. All this while the *Papists*, who had fail'd in their Attempts, stood looking on, glad to see others playing that Game which they had lost, and hoping to make their Market of it in the end: And a Man would be apt to think that they privately lent their helping hand, if it were but for this Reason, That those Men who every where made most horrid Out-cries against *Papists* and *Popery*, now took up several of the most pernicious Principles of the most *Jesuited Papists*, and out-did 'em in them; they were as good at *Equivocations* and *Reservations* as the best of them, no *Obligations* or *Oathes* could bind them, and if the *Papists* sought for a *Dispensation* from others, they had a Trick beyond them, and could every Man *Dispense* with himself. With these Arts they now began to creep into and get Possession of the *Churches*, they could (tho' perhaps sometimes with some seeming difficulty) subscribe the *Articles*, take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience* to the *Bishop*, and of *Allegiance* to the *King*; and as soon as they came to their Parish, *Rail* at the *Articles*, *Mangle* the *Liturgy*, or wholly Reject it, and Preach against all the *Order* and *Discipline* of the *Church*; and he that was most Disobedient and Refractory against his *Bishop*, was accounted the most Zealous, Pious, and Sanctify'd Man: And thus they not only gull'd and deluded the People, but set them on Fire. To these may be added, That the long Peace during the Reign of King *James*,
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did not well agree with a restless People; The Quarrel with the *Spaniard* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* cut out brave work for our Men of Mettle, the rich Prizes to be gotten was a Spur to their Valour, and many gain'd both Honour and Wealth; and the Succours she sent to the *Dutch*, found Business and Employment for our Martial or Turbulent Spirits; but in the Reign of King *James* the Soldiers being laid aside, like Rusty Armour, grew Angry and Discontented, and began to make *Lampoons* and *Devices* upon the Government, to Ridicule which, was drawn a Knight Arm'd Cap & P^a, lying fast a Sleep in a Boat, with this Motto;

Equora tuta Silent.

And divers others of the like Nature were devised and spread abroad, which shew'd a general Dissatisfaction in those sort of Men, nor did most of them bring home very good Principles, who had been employ'd in the Wars of the *Netherlands*. There were also many who were Enemies to the Church, as having Sacrilegiously Enrich'd themselves with her Lands; and others there were, who had an Eye upon the Remainder, and long'd for her Ruine upon no account so much, as that they might be sharers in the Spoils. These generally joyn'd themselves to the *Puritanical Party*, and made it their Business to Encourage and Protect their *Ministers* and *Fiercy Zealots* against both Church and State; and by this they got the

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the Name of *Patriots* and Lovers of their Country among all that were *Disaffected* to the Government, which now began to be the prevailing part of the Nation; and this *Itch* of Applause so stuck to them and their Posterity, that Enmity to the Government, like Original Sin, was Transmitted from the Parents to the Children, and became Hereditary to the Families. From these and other things, which might be observ'd, I fear it may be too truly said, *That the Scene of the Son's Ruine was laid in the Reign of the Father.*

When I reflect upon the long and peaceable Reign of King *James* the 1st, I cannot have altogether so hard Thoughts, as I have been sometimes inclin'd to have of that *banish State Maxim* of Judge *Dyer* as to the *English Nation*, viz. *That there be often Wars.* For though War be a Trade of Blood, brings Desolations and Ruines, and often falls heaviest upon the most Harmless and Innocent, so that it can never be desired for it self, nor ought to be undertaken without just Cause; yet if it be not maintain'd too long, nor carry'd on too far, and the main Stake never brought in hazard, it hath often good Effects. For it purgeth a Kingdom of ill Humours, finds Business for Troublesome and Warlike Spirits, diverts them from Evil Designs at home, by making them look about to secure their own Safety; it takes off that Fear of an Enemy which is begotten by long Peace, and a sleepy Security, and makes them ready to resist Danger, and prevents their Quarreling with one another, of which

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which a special Care ought to be taken as to the *English*; for if they be not sometimes moderately Exercised against others, certainly there is no Nation under the Heavens more prone to fall out among themselves.

But to return to our Business. The Seeds had been long sown, and now Matters were in a manner Ripe for *Rebellion*, when King *Charles* the 1st came to the Throne, a Prince in whom we might have been too Happy, had not his People been *Poyson'd* beyond any help from an *Antidote* of *Goodness*. They were unmovable in their *Rebellious* Resolution, their Measures were concerted, their Partizans numerous, they had wrigled themselves into many Offices of the greatest Power and Trust. and now wanted nothing but Opportunity, and something fit to Head them for such a desperate and damnable Undertaking. To this end, they set their Heart upon a *Parliament*, which if *Good*, is the *Glory* and *Security* of the *English* Constitution, but if *Bad*, is able at any time to *Embroid*, if not *Overthrow* it. They were now become so confident of carrying their Design, that some could not forbear to own it, and where they could not perswade, endeavour'd to terrify Men into their Party. About the Year 1625, which was some years before the War broke out, Mr. *W. P.* after better known by the Title of *Collonel P.* in discourse with a Gentleman, whom he was desirous to bring over to them, told him plainly, *That he should live to see the Time, that there should be no King in England.* Many of the *Lords*, to the
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Disgrace and Prejudice of their Order (for what must become of Honour, when the Fountain of it is dried up?) were already too much Encouragers and Abettors of them. But their great Business was to Model a *House of Commons* for their purpose; for this end, they used their utmost Endeavours to get such Elected for *Members*, who were, as they pretended, not in the *Court* but the *Countries* Interest, but really and truly such as they knew to be *Enemies* to the *Government* and *Constitution*; and at last they gain'd that Point also, and what followed thereupon, many living can yet remember, and many Families feel to this Day. A large History would not be sufficient to set forth all their Ravages and Barbarities; The following *Tryals* impartially Related in this little Book, may serve for a short Specimen of the good Nature and Piety of their pretended Saints, but the bulk of them are enough to amaze, if not exceed the belief of Posterity. But because setting down a Buoy may give warning to avoid those Dangers, wherein others have miscarried, I will only lightly touch upon some of their Methods of Proceeding, and so have done as to this Matter. In short, the whole was carried on with *Lyes* and *Skams*, not common and ordinary *Lyes*, but such as any thinking Man in his Wits would judge incredible; and with these they constantly alarm'd the People, and kept them so warm, that they gave them no time to think: If any Persons were eminently Faithful and Serviceable to their Prince, they misrepresented
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all their Actions as Designs upon the State; the best of Men they so blacken'd that they were taken for Common Enemies; insomuch, That a Noble Peer observ'd at the Tryal of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, That *there was scarce any good Action which he had done in his whole Life, which they had not converted into his Crime.* That the Spaniards should believe the Story of *Kentish Long-Tails*, is no great Marvel, but that People should be wrought to a belief, That their *Fellow Subjects* born and bred amongst them were scarce of *Human Kind*, but rather *Monsters* than *Men*, will seem very strange; and yet the Lord *Loughborough* in the Head of a Troop Riding quietly and inoffensively through a long Country Town, where the King's Party had not appear'd, the People came to their Doors, and with Amazement, lifting up their Hands, Cry'd out; *Good Lord! why the Cavileers are Men!* And I well remember, when there came a hot and frightful Report of a Plot of the *Cavileers*, (for so the King's Party were then call'd) to Undermine and Blow up the *Thames*, and thereby Ruine the City of *London*, and the Trade of the Nation: I was then in a Place wholly devoted to the Parliaments Interest, and I do not call to mind, that I heard so much as one Man who question'd the Truth of the Story, or said any thing against the possibility or probability of it; but the general Cry was against the *Devilish Cavileers*, who certainly Traded with *Hell*, or else they could never have thought of such a *Damnable Device*, and no *Punishment*, no *Death* was

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was thought severe enough for them. But that which made the greatest Noise, and serv'd upon every turn, and upon all occasions, was *Vexant Romani*; there was scarce any thing so well Constituted which they did not pick a Quarrel with, and whatever stood in their way was *Popish* and *Anti-Christian*; They cover'd their Designs of *Blood* and *Slaughter* by frightening People out of their Wits with the Chimærical Apprehensions of *Fire* and *Faggot*, the *King*, his *Council*, his *Ministers*, yea his whole *Party* were represented as *Papists*, or *Popishly Affected*, the *Church* was full of *Popery*, all the *Orthodox* and *Loyal Clergy* were accus'd as *Papists*; and as if they thought God was Delighted with *Disorder* and *Slovenliness*, all the *Orders* and *Ornaments* of the *Church* were *Reliques* and *Rags* of the *Whore of Babylon*; nor was it the least thing which promoted their wicked Cause to encourage the giddy Multitude to be *Reformers*, and applaud those as the only *Good and Godly Men*, who in their furious and blind Zeal broke down *Organs*, tore *Surplices*, pull'd down *Hangings*, rifled the *Monuments* of the *Dead*, and batter'd *Glass Windows*, by which means many *Curious Pieces* of *Workmanship* were destroy'd, and a Loss sustain'd, which can never be repair'd. I remember, That being in Company with some Clergymen, one told this Story; That some of these Zealots coming into his Church, they presently spied in a Window the History of the fourth chapter of Matthew, representing the Devil Tempting our Saviour, at which they Cried out,

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Idolatry;

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Idolatry; and presently falling to work, beat our Saviour all to pieces, but notwithstanding all their Rage and Fury, left the Devil whole and entire. Upon which, one was pleas'd to make this Remark; *That they were in the Right, for (said he) the Devil was the Head of their Party, and they were doing his Work, and it became them to leave the Devil in Possession, when they were driving our Saviour out.*

When by these and such like Villanous Practices they had got the Power into their Hands, then those Tender-Conscienc'd Rebels, who before us'd to Cry out of *Persecution*, if their little Finger were but pinch'd, now were for destroying *Root and Branch*. The *Tryals* and *Relations* following, are but a small Part of the dismal Tragedy they Acted. When they had *Murther'd* their *Lawful King*, and *Banish'd* his *Innocent Children*, to shew their Spite to the very Memory of *Monarchy*, they Commanded the *King's Arms*, and all the Royal Ensigns of Honour to be Defac'd in all Places. I could name the Place, where their Zeal carried them so far, That they would have had the Table hanging in the Church, whereon the King's Arms were Painted, to be Chopt in pieces, and publickly Burnt; but one Person, not so hot Headed as the rest; perswaded them, That it would save Charges to blot out the *King's Arms*, and Paint the *Breeches* in the room; and this frugal Advice prevail'd with the covetous Saints, and the harmless Table was sav'd: But the Arms and Supporters of *Edward the 6th* and the *Bohemian Arms*,
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the Acquest of the Black Prince, commonly call'd the *Prince's Feathers*, were Painted upon several Pillars of the same Church, these were all order'd to be wash'd out; and while Workmen were performing it, a Gentleman stept in and ask'd them, what they were doing? They told him, they were putting out the *King's Arms*; upon which, he turning his Head, spy'd upon another Pillar the Picture of *Time* with his Hour-Glass and Scythe, to which, pointing, said he, and what do you with this Fellow? They made answer, That they had nothing to do with him; O, replied he, you do nothing in putting out the *King's Arms*, if you do not put out him, for *he'll set them up again*. He presently march'd off, took his Horse, and rode away; and it was well he did, for enquiry was made after him, and had he been caught, he had certainly had a Stone-Dublet for his Jest, beside other ill usage.

Their implacable Malice extended not only to the King and his Family, but to all his Adherents; and those who escap'd with their Lives, were Sequestred, Fined, Imprisoned, and from time to time so Harass'd, that many Antient and Flourishing Families had scarce Bread left to eat; nay they laid their Griping Hands not only upon those who had born Arms, but upon such whom they only suspected not to be Cordial to them; and it was Cause enough of Suspicion, if they had not appeared Zealously for them: If any such had a *Criminal Estate*, it was sufficient to make them Guilty, witness the Case of the *Lord Cra-*

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ven, whose large Possessions were Seiz'd and Sold for a Song, and divided among their Partizans, though all the time he had been beyond the Seas, and Acted on neither Side; the only Crime I could learn alledg'd against him at that time, was, That King *Charles* the 2^d, then beyond Sea, accidentally Commending a Horse of his, he had made a Present of it to him. As for the Loyal Clergy, they were thrust out by wholesale; the only Act of Mercy shew'd, was, That the Married Clergy were allow'd the *Fifths*, though that was generally ill paid; but however *it was better than nothing*. So careful were they that none but Trumpeters of Rebellion should come into the Pulpits, That no Man was thought fit to be admitted to, or to hold a Benefice, who did not Rave against *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*, and Cry up the *Godly Parliament*; *Moderation* and *Modesty* were Crimes strongly suspected of *Malignancy*; no Man was Safe, who was not Violent; and it is almost incredible upon what frivolous shameful Pretences they thrust sober Men out of their Livings, leaving them and their Families to Starve. One Person, who had been the Son of a Citizen and Shopkeeper of *London*, they were resolv'd to drive away, but wanted a Colour for their Proceedings; at last a peeping Fellow inform'd against him, That he kept *Images* in his House, now all these *Images* were only *one*, and that *one* was nothing else but a *Wooden Boy*, which was usually set upon the Bulk of his Father's Shop

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Shop with a *Pipe* in his Mouth, as is commonly seen in *London* and other great Towns ; but it had been better for him, that his Father had left no such Asset, or that he had timely dispos'd of it, for the keeping his Father's Boy turn'd the Son out of Doors. There was a Clergyman, Neighbour to this same Person, who had a *Scandalous*, that is, a good *Fat Personage*, for which a *Dragooning Brother* had a longing mind, and he was to be gratify'd right or wrong: The present Incumbent was a Man of a quiet Temper, and unexceptionable Conversation, but had the unhappiness sometimes to express his Thoughts in a very odd blundering way ; upon Consultation, they could not imagine how to fasten any thing upon him, unless by bringing him before a *Comittee* of *Tryars*, they could upon examination pick a Quarrel with some of his Answers, and accordingly it happen'd to their mind ; for the first Question put to him was, *What is Repentance ?* To which, he unluckily made Answer ; It is a *Turning Topsy Turvy*. Now though considering the Man, this Answer might have admitted of a favourable Interpretation, yet they made it little less than *Blasphemy*, and thereby found means to teach him better to understand the nature of Repentance by turning him to Grass, and putting their Creature into Possession of his Living. But when I recall to mind how these Men extoll'd the Scripture at that prodigious Rate, and so in opposition to every thing else, that they made it almost Scandalous for any

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Man to be skill'd in that kind of Learning which best enables him to understand it; I cannot but wonder at their Impudence in a Trick they openly put upon another. There was a Minister (as they call'd them) in whose Coat they could pick no Hole, saving that he had been observ'd to be somewhat negligent in keeping their *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*, (and perhaps he did not like them) hereupon a peremptory Order was sent to him to keep a *Fast* then appointed, with all the tire-some Solemnity then in use, and Persons for their purpose were privately sent to hear and observe him with all nicety; the Order was not to be disobey'd without the loss of his Living; and he took care to carry his Cup so even (which was no easy matter) that it was thought he had balk'd their Design, for they could lay hold of nothing in his *Prayer* or his *Sermon*, wherewith to accuse him; so when nothing else would do, they turn'd him out for making choice of a *Malignant Text*; it was the last Verse of the 12th Psalm. *The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.*

It would be endless to reckon up the various and villanous Artifices, whereby they Ruin'd Men in their Estates and Fortunes, whose Lives they could not reach without damage to themselves, and using such Barbarity as was never heard of; and how under colour of Establishing *Religion*, *Liberty*, and *Property*, they took away all *Three*; destroy'd the best Establish'd Church in the World, made Men
little

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little better than *Slaves*, and subjected every Man's *Property* to their *Arbitrary Will* and *Power*. But though it be uncomfortable to dwell longer on this melancholy Theme, yet it may not be amiss to try what good use we can make of it, for the profitable industrious *Bee*, with its pretty Chymistry, will draw *Honey* from the same Herb whence the *Spider* Sucks *Poyson*; and a wise good Man will make some Advantage to himself from the worst of Evils committed by others; and certainly every Man who is endued with any thing of true *Honesty* and *Goodness*, can do no less than take occasion from the Knowledge or History of such Practices to abhor them, and take care of himself, that he be no way tainted with, or engag'd in them: Evil Examples are Recorded not for *Imitation* but *Caution*, that we may avoid those Practices for which others are *Infamous*; and by how much the worse and more mischievous are the Examples, so much the more deeply are they to be detested, and carefully shun'd; and considering how much this Kingdom hath suffer'd, I hope none of my Countrymen will read this little Book without Grief of Heart for those Mens *Hypocrisy*, and utter Abhorrence of their *Wickedness*.

Another good Document for our Benefit, which naturally flows from Consideration of these wicked Practices, is, *not to judge of Things by Success*; the generality of Persons are most affected with what is present, without well weighing Matters, or looking far before them;

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them; and it is a strong Temptation to most Men to run into the winning Side, nay it often staggers even wise and good Men, when they see daring Villany Thrive and Prosper, and a righteous Cause run down, and all that Espouse it Cruel'd and Persecuted; no meaner a Person than Holy *David* confesseth, what a Stumbling-Block this was some time to him, and then well may it be so to others: but it is an *Infirmity* which we must not *Yield* to, but *Conquer*. For he that will always suppose those to be in the *Wrong* who *Suffer*, and their Cause to be *Just* who *Prosper*, must condemn our Blessed *Saviour* and all his *Apostles*, and acquit *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*; nay, at this rate, even our *Holy Religion* it self must fall under Condemnation, it being a Doctrine of the *Cross*; and constantly calling on its *Votaries* to prepare for *Sufferings* and *Persecutions*, and not to faint or fall away, when they come upon them. Others may boast of their *Successes* and *Strokes of Providence*, but do not think the *God of Heaven* to be like the *Goddeſs Victoria*, who was always on the *Conquerour's* side; for a Christian whatever befalls him in this World, must look to his *Cause*, and see that it be *Right*, and adhere to it to the end.

Upon this account I shall farther infer what I think naturally flows from the Premises, viz. That there is a *Judgment* to come; for you may as well call in question the *Being* as the *Justice* of God: If therefore the God of Justice do permit impious Men here to car-

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ry on their wicked Designs, to be successful in their Attempts, to flourish themselves, and trample down all that comply not with them; and his own faithful Servants to be destitute, afflicted, tormented, and often in the most cruel and merciless manner to be bereav'd of Life it self, surely there is a time appointed for an After-Reckoning, wherein he will Vindicate his own Honour and Justice in the *Punishment* of the one, and *Reward* of the other. He that had seen or known the Pious *King Charles the 1st*, and the most Reverend *Arch-Bishop Laud*, both of blessed Memory, used like Scoundrels with all the Contempt and spiteful Treatment imaginable, and at last openly and insultingly Murther'd; and *Cromwel* and *Bradshaw* grow Great by Villany; Tyrannize over all Persons, Prosper in their Undertakings, live to a considerable Age, and at last die quietly in their Beds, must certainly think (if he ever did seriously think) that this could not be the end of all things with them, but will be forc'd to conclude, either that a Hearing of these Things shall hereafter be brought before the *Just God*, or constrain'd to aver, (what the Fool durst only presume to say in his Heart) *That there is no God.* The Time of this Life is a State of *Probation-ship*, wherein every Man is upon his Behaviour for either *future Felicity* or *Misery*; and God not only made Man a free Agent, but hath tender'd him Succours to supply his Defects, and enable him for his Duty, if he will use them; not to suffer him to Act like what he hath

hath

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hath made him, were to overturn the Course of Nature, but if he will not observe the Commands of his Maker, he shall surely give Account for it: And though *Wicked Men* may be too hard for the *Good*, and instead of being brought to Condign Punishment, be Triumphant in their Wickedness here, yet doubtless they shall not escape the *Righteous Judgment of God*. It may seem a very hard Case, That a notorious Sinner should be Cloathed in Purple and fine Linnen, and fare sumptuously every Day, whilst a good Man, like *Lazarus*, is over-run with Sores, or born down with Afflictions; but when in another State, the good Man shall be refresh'd in *Abraham's Bosom*, and the sometime successful Sinner shall Cry out in *Hell* for a Drop of Water to cool his Tongue, and receive no other answer, but, *Remember Son, that thou in thy Life-time receivest thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things, and therefore now he is comforted and thou art tormented*. It will appear, That the Prosperity of the Wicked was their greatest Unhappiness, and the Sufferings of the Saints only an augmentation of their Glory.

It may perhaps seem needless to add, That when Men have sorely suffered by ill Practices and wicked Instruments, and have once been deliver'd and freed from them, it should awaken and rouse their Care and Courage to frustrate such wicked Designs, and prevent their falling under the like evil Circumstances again; it hath been a Proverbial Saying, *That Experience is the Mistress of Fools*. I suppose that

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that the meaning of it is, not that *Experience* teacheth *only Fools*, but that it is able to make *even Fools Wise*; for otherwise the wisest of Men must own *Experience* for their Mistress, as well as Fools: For he must be a *Miracle* in Nature, or have more than human Assistance, who considering the Difficulties of the World, can be *Wise* without any manner of *Experience*. But as for those who will neither be taught by *Experience*, nor learn by any Harms to beware, they are so much worse than Fools, that I am at a loss for a Name by which to call them. When a Sailor hath suffer'd by a lamentable Shipwreck, and in the end almost by *Miracle* escap'd, if after he hath felt and known the Danger, and how to avoid it, he will nevertheless twice split up the same Rock; instead of pitying him, Men will be apt to say, that he deserv'd to be *Drown'd*. He that hath been burnt, will surely of course dread, and take care to secure him self against Fire; but as for him that will take Warning from no Harms, all Advice is in vain bestow'd upon him.

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ENGLAND'S Black Tribunal,

Set forth in the Tryal of
King *CHARLES* the I.

BEFORE THE
Pretended High Court of Justice,
in *Westminster-Hall*, begun *Saturday* the
20th of *January*, 1648.

Officers of the Court.

John Bradshaw, President.

Isaac Dorislaus, } Councillors who drew up the
Mr. *Aske*, } Charge, and assisted.

Mr. *Steel*, Attorney General (did not appear).

Mr. *Cook*, Sollicitor General.

Mr. *Broughton*, } Clerks of the Court.
Mr. *Phelps*, }

Mr. *Dandy*, Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.

Coll. *Humphrey*, Sword-bearer.

Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Pain*, Mr. *Powel*,

Mr. *Hull*, Tip-staves and Messengers.

The first days Proceedings, being the 20th of *January*, 1648.

ON *Saturday*, being the 20th day of *January*, 1648
the Lord *Bradshaw*, President of the High Court of
Justice, with about seventy of the Members of the
said Court, having Coll. *Fox*, and sixteen Gentlemen with
B Partizans;

Partizans ; and a Sword born by Coll. *Humphrey*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their, and other Officers of the said Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their sitting, at the West-end of the great Hall in *Westminster*, where the Lord President in a Crimson Velvet Chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a Desk with a Crimson Velvet Cushion before him. The rest of the Members placing themselves on each side of him upon the several Seats, or Benches, prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpose, and the Partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and silence made, the great Gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end, that all persons, without exception, desirous to see, or hear, might come into it ; upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinson*, who had the charge of the King, as a Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended withabout twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Coll. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him straight to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was set for the King. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court ; who sat on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the several names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, rising up, and answering to his Call.

The

The King having again placed himself in his Chair, with his Face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up, and said ;

President. CHARLES STUART, King of England, the Commons of England, Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon you, as the principal Author of it) have resolved to make Inquisition for Blood ; and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to the Fundamental Power that rests in themselves, They have resolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgment ; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

This said, Mr. *Cook*, Sollicitor General for the Commonwealth (standing within a Bar on the right Hand of the King) offered to speak, but the King having a Staff in his Hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said Mr. *Cook's* Shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold : Nevertheless the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said,

Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of England, in the Name of the Commons of England, with Treason and High Misdemeanors ; I desire the said Charge may be read.

The said Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should be read, but the King bid him hold ; nevertheless being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk began.

The Charge of the Commons of *England*,
against *CHARLES STUART*
King of *England*, of High Treason, and
other High Crimes, exhibited to the
High Court of Justice.

THat the said Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a Limited Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design, to Erect, and Uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Tea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redress and Remedy of Mis-government, which by the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the Peoples Behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Council; He, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his Adherents, in His, and their wicked Practices, to the same end, hath traiterously and maliciously levied War against the Parliament, and the People therein represented.

Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty Two, at Beverly in the County of York; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of July, in the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of York; and upon or about the Twenty Fourth Day of August, in the same Year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, (when, and where he set up his Standard of War:) And upon, or about the Twenty Third Day of October, in the same Year, at Edge-hill, and Keinton-field, in the County of Warwick; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November, in the same Year at Brainford, in the County of Middlesex: And upon or about the Thirtieth Day of August, in the Year of our Lord,

Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty Three; at Caversham-
 Bridge near Reading, in the County of Berks; and upon or
 about the Thirtieth Day of October, in the Year last mentioned,
 at or near the City of Gloucester; and upon or about the Thirtieth
 Day of November, in the Year last mentioned, at Newbery,
 in the County of Berks; and upon or about the One and Thirtieth
 Day of July, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Six Hundred
 Forty and Four, at Cropredy-bridge in the County of Oxon;
 and upon, or about the thirtieth day of September, in the last
 year mentioned, at Bodmin, and other places near adjacent, in
 the County of Cornwall; and upon or about the thirtieth day
 of November, in the last year mentioned, at Newbery aforesaid;
 And upon or about the eighth of June, in the year of our Lord,
 One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of Lei-
 cester: And also upon the fourteenth day of the same Month,
 in the same Year, at Naseby-field, in the County of Northam-
 ton. At which several Times and Places, or most of them,
 and at many other places in this Land, at several other times,
 within the years aforementioned: And in the year of our Lord,
 One Thousand Six Hundred Forty and Six: He the said
 CHARLES STUART, hath caused and procured
 many Thousands of the Free-People of the Nation to be slain;
 and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections, within this Land,
 by Invasions from Forreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by
 him, and by many other evil Ways and Means, He the said
 CHARLES STUART, hath not only maintained
 and carried on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the
 years before mentioned; but also hath renewed, or caused to be
 renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good People
 of this Nation, in this present year, One thousand six hundred
 forty and eight, in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sus-
 sex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and places in England
 and Wales, and also by Sea: And particularly, He the said
 CHARLES STUART, hath for that purpose, given
 commission to his Son the Prince, and others; whereby, be-
 sides Multitudes of other Persons, many such, as were by the Par-
 liament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation, being
 by him or his Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust,
 and revolting from the Parliament, have had Entertainment and
 Commission, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hosti-
 lity, against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid. By which
 cruel and unnatural Wars by Him the said CHARLES

STUART, levied, continued, and renewed, as *aforesaid*, much Innocent Blood of the Free-People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Public Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably decayed; vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.

And for the further prosecution of his said evil Designs, He, the said **CHARLES STUART**, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him: from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said **CHARLES STUART**.

All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evil Practices of Him the said **CHARLES STUART**, have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to Himself and his Family, against the Public Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entrusted, as *aforesaid*.

By all which it appeareth, that He the said **CHARLES STUART**, hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver, of the said Unnatural, Cruel, and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cook, by Protestation (saying on the behalf of the People of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge against the said **CHARLES STUART**, and also of Replying to the Answers which the said **CHARLES STUART** shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of England, Impeach the said **CHARLES STUART** as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a public and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of England: And pray, that the said **CHARLES STUART**, King of England, may be put to answer All and Every the Premises; That such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment, may be bereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

It is observed, that at the time the Charge was reading, the King sate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries, and having risen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sat down, looking very sternly with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, viz. Charles Stuart (to be a Tyrant and Traitor, &c.) were read, at which he laughed as he sat, in the face of the Court.

Charge being read, the Lord President replied :

President, ' Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such matters as appears in it ; you find, that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, that you Answer to your Charge. The Court expects your Answer.

King. I would know by what Power I am called hither : I was, not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight* ; how I came there is a longer story than I think is fit at this time for me to speak of ; but there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Public Faith as 'tis possible to be had of any People in the World. I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly ; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean, lawful ; there are many unlawful Authorities in the World, Thieves and Robbers by the High-ways ; but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall Answer. Remember I am your King, and what sins you bring upon your Heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer ; in the mean time I shall not betray my Trust. I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descend, I will not betray it, to answer to a new unlawful Authority ; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

President. ' If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court, at your first com-

'ing hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the name of the People of *England*, of which you are elected King, to answer them.

King. No, Sir, I deny that.

President. 'If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. I do tell them so; *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near these thousand years; therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither? I do stand more for the Liberty of my People, than any here, that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

President. 'Sir, how really you have managed your Trust, is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the Court; which befits not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman (*Lieut. Col. Cobbet*) ask him if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by force. I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the Privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any Man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the Public Faith of the World? Let me see a legal Authority, warranted by the Word of God, the Scripture, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

President. 'Sir, you have propounded a Question, and have been Answered: Seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed; in the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

'The Court desires to know, whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no?

King. Sir, I desire you would give me, and all the World, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the

the last breath of my Body, and therefore you shall do well to satisfy first God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an usurped Authority, that will not last long; there is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfie me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my Trust, and the Liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing: For I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority; and therefore satisfy God, and me, and all the World in that, and you shall receive my Answer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

President. 'The Court expects you should give them a final Answer, their purpose is to adjourn till *Monday* next, if you do not satisfy your self, though we do tell you our Authority; we are satisfied with our Authority, and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms, and that Peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present Work.

King. Let me tell you, if you will shew me what lawful Authority you have, I shall be satisfied: But that you have hitherto said, satisfies no reasonable Man.

President. 'That's in our apprehension, we think it reasonable that are your Judges.

King. 'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

President. 'The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this Days proceedings.

1. It is observed, That as the Charge was reading against the King, the silver Head of his Staff fell off, the which he wondred at, and seeing none to take it up, he stoop'd for it himself, and put it in his Pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very austere Countenance upon the Court, without stirring of his Hat, reply'd, *Well, Sir*, (when the L. President commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down he said, *I do not fear that*, (pointing with his Staff at the Sword.) The People in the Hall, as he went down the Stairs,

stairs cried out, some, *God save the King*, and some for *Justice*,

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till *Monday* next, *Jan. 22.* at nine in the morning, to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again in *Westminster-Hall*.

Vigorous Toast.

Sunday 21. of January.

This day *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, and the rest of the Commissioners and Judges, kept a Fast at *Whitehall*; there Preached *Mr. Sprigge*, his Text was, *He that sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*: Next *Mr. Foxeley*, his Text, *Judge not, lest you be judged*. Last was *Mr. Hugh Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron*.

The Second days Proceedings at the High-Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, Monday Jan. 22. 1648.

O Yes made; silence commanded; the Court called and answered to their Names.

Silence commanded upon pain of Imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the King's coming in, a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. Solicitor. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did in the last Court, in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court, a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaded to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation, which

which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

President Sir, you may remember, at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a charge against you, containing a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, against this Realm of *England*; you heard likewise, that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an Answer to that Charge, that thereupon such Proceedings might be had as should be agreeable to Justice; you were then pleased to make some Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your questions, and were as often answered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England, assembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital Misdemeanors wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you, they do expect you should either confess or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation, to be made good against you; their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King. ' When I was here last, tis true, I made that Question, and truly if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation I made the last time I was here, against the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any Superiour Jurisdiction on Earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the Freedom and Liberty of the People of *England*, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England*, that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular

‘ particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the Affirmative is proved, the Negative often is very hard to do : But since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

‘ My Reasons why in Conscience, and the duty I owe to God first, and my People next, for the preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates ; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

‘ All proceedings against any man

Here the King would have delivered his Reasons which is Printed at the end of this days proceeding.

‘ whatsoever —
President. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice, you are about to enter into Argument,

and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent ; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will Answer to your charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. ‘ Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of Law, I do know Law and Reason, though I am no Lawyer professed, yet I know as much Law as any Gentleman in England ; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of England more than you do, and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without Reason given for it, it were unreasonable ; but I must tell you, That that Reason that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are these too that have given that Law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in con-

tempt

tempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be Recorded accordingly.

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent ; not by any Law that ever I heard of ; all Men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings, as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons, if you deny that, you deny Reason.

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you, the Sence of the Court. Sir, neither you, nor any Man, are permitted to dispute that Point; you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court ; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that, shew me one Precedent. —

President. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it ; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. 'I say, Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature ; I would know how they came to be so.

President. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth :

CHARLES STUART, *King of England*, You have been accused on the behalf of the People of *England*, of High Treason, and other high Crimes ; the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.

King. 'I will answer the same, as soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

President. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I do not Answer, and give me time for that.

President.

President. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

King. 'Prisoners? Sir, I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

President. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction on, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to Record your default.

King. 'You never heard my Reasons yet.

President. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. 'Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.

President. Sir, We shew it you here, the Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

President. Serjeant, take away the Prisoner.

King. 'Well, Sir, remember that the King is not suffered to give his Reasons, for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. Sir, you are not to have liberty to use this language: How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all England and the World judge.

King. 'Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took — defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the People, but for my People and the Laws.

President. The command of the Court must be obeyed; no answer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well, Sir.

Then the Lord President ordered the Default to be Recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Answer would be given to the Charge.

And so was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's House.

Then the Court Adjourned to the Painted Chamber, on Tuesday at 12 a Clock, and from thence they intend to Adjourn to Westminster-Hall, at which time all Persons concerned are to give their attendance.

*Resolutions of the Court at their Meeting
in the Painted Chamber.*

Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

THis day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Justice, the Commissioners of the said High Court of Justice sate private in the Painted Chamber, and considered of the King's carriage upon the Saturday before, and of all that had then passed; and fully approved of what the Lord President had done and said in the managing of the business of that day, as agreeing to their Sence. And perceiving what the King aimed at, viz. to bring in question (if he could) the Jurisdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they sat; and considering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their sides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supreme Authority of the Commons of England, in their Representative the Commons Assembled in Parliament, after advice with their Council, learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation, had of the matter.

Resolved, That the King should not be suffered to argue the Court's Jurisdiction, or that which constituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conusance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct, viz.

Ordered, That in case the King shall again offer to dispute the Authority of the Court, the Lord President do let him know, That the Court have taken into consideration his Demands of the last day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this Answer; That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament have constituted this Court, whose power may not, nor should be permitted to be disputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to Answer or acknowledge the Court, the Lord President do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it shall be so recorded.

That

That in case he shall offer or answer with a saving, notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogatives above the Jurisdiction of the Court, That the Lord President do in the name of the Court refuse his Protest, and require his positive Answer, whether he will own the Court or not.

That in case the King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his Intention to Answer, and that declaring his Intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his Contempt, the Lord President do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court in these words following, viz-

Charles Stuart King of England, you are accused in the behalf of the People of England, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive Answer; to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to Answer the same.

His Majesty's Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to have delivered on Monday Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAVING already made my Protestations, not only against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my Mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my Peuple, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-born Subject of England, call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? Which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me, concerning these grounds which binder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest Man in England; for I will not (like you)

you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a Belief upon my Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law, for on the contrary, the authority and obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccl. 8. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident that no learned Lawyer, will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name: And one of their Maxims is, That the King can do no wrong. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be Old or New: if Old shew it; if New, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

* Hereabout the King was stopt, and not suffer'd to speak any more concerning Reason.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of England's Commission could grant your pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the Question of the Tenth Man in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every Man in England, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all my Subjects, which consists not in the Power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best Assurance of their Lives, and Propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days Proceedings do not only violate,

violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; For all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses Agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surpris'd, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my Power, defend the Antient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just Right. Then for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded; and for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protect against the Lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least of my Thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flourish'd for many Hundred Years; (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this Lawless, unjust Proceedings against Me, do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this Change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late Years, under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my Father, and my Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My Power hath totally changed the antient Government.

Thus having shew'd you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority, without violating the Trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My Judgment, shewing me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, were spent in a formal Examination of Witnesses.

Wednesday

Wednesday, January 24. 1648.

THis day it was expected that the High Court of Justice would have met in *Westminster-Hall*, about ten of the Clock, but at the time appointed, one of the Ullhers, by direction of the Court (then sitting in the Painted-Chamber) gave notice to the People there assembled, That in regard the Court was then upon the Examination of Witneses, in relation to present affairs, in the Painted-Chamber, they could not sit there, but all Persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Names of the Witneses, whose several Depositions upon Oath were all to this Effect, That they had seen His Majesty in the Head of His Army with his Sword drawn, and actually in several Battels, and that he levied Forces and gave Commissions, &c.

William Cuthbert of Parington in Holderness, *Gent.*

John Bennet of the County of York, *Glover.*

William Brayne of Wixhall in Salop, *Gent.*

Henry Hartford of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire.

Robert Large of the Town of Nottingham, *Painter.*

John Penninger of Hayner in Darbyshire.

Samuel Lawton of Nottingham, *Brewer.*

Thomas Whittington of Nottingham, *Shoemaker.*

Robert Loads of Cottam in Nottinghamshire.

S. Morgan of Wellington in the County of Salop, *Haberdasher.*

John Thomas of Denbigh, *Labourer.*

Richard Bromfield of London, *Merchant.*

William Jones of Usk in the County of Monmouth, *Labourer.*

David Evans of Aburgaveny in the County of Monmouth.

Diogenes Edwards of Carlton in the County of Salop, *Butcher.*

Giles Grice of Wellington in the County of Salop.

John Vincent of Darnorham in the County of Wilts.

George Seely of London, *Shoemaker.*

John Moor of Cork in Ireland, *Gent.*

Thomas Grees of Boyset in Northamptonshire, *Labourer.*

Tho. Collins of Hanslop in the County of Buckingham, *Gent.*

Thomas Read of Maidstone in Kent, *Gent.*

James

James Grosby of Dublin in Ireland.

Sam. Burden of Lyneham in the County of Wilts.

Michael Potts of Sharpston in Northumberland, *Wintner*.

Most of these were Soldiers, and bore Arms against His Majesty.

The Third Days Proceedings at the High-Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, Tuesday Jan. 23. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three Persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere Countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O Yes made, and Silence commanded.

Mr. Cook Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President.

This is now the third time that by the great Grace and Favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any issue joined in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England; that a King of England, trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath so to do, that had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked Design, to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against his Parliament and People. And I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of England, that he might speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, instead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this high Court. Your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day, to consider and to put in his answer, which day being yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer, either by denying or confession of it; but, my Lord, he was then pleased for to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and commanded him to give a direct and positive Answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your

Lord-

Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. *My Lord*, I might press your Lordship upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as Contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; that as by an implicate Confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done: But besides, *my Lord*, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact; the House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is Notorious, that the Matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (*my Lord*) as clear as Cryстал, and as the Sun that shines at Noon-day; which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the People of *Englands* behalf, several Witnesses to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess, it is not so much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Counsel, on the behalf of the Kingdom, against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands; you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction; That it was not for you, nor any other Man, to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supreme and highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no Dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus authorized by the supreme Court of England, to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment.

ment against you, yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this Charge that is against you. Sir, in plain terms, for Justice knows no respect of Persons, you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

The King, after a little pause, said,

‘ When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of *England*; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

President. Sir, you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, that having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, and your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge. Sir, if you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other Discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you.

King. ‘ For the Charge I value it not a Rush, it is the *Liberty* of the People of *England* that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an Example to all the People of *England*, for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on *Saturday*) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People: The same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him and to my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, the antient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular Answer: If you will give me time, I will then shew you my Reasons why I cannot do it, and this

Here

Here being interrupted, he said,

‘ By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me ; how
‘ I came here I know not, there’s no Law for it, to make
‘ your King your Prisoner : I was lately in a Treaty upon
‘ the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known—
‘ the two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representa-
‘ tive of the Kingdom, and when that I had almost made an
‘ end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought
‘ hither, and therefore —————

Here the President interrupted him, and said, Sir, you
must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. ‘ By your favour, Sir, —————

President. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be
permitted to fall into these Discourses ; you appear as a
Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of
the Court, the Court craves it not of you, and once more
they command you to give your positive Answer ———

Clerk, Do your Duty.

King. ‘ Duty, Sir !

The Clerk Reads ;

CHARLES STUART, King of England, you are
accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of di-
vers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been
read unto you ; the Court now requires you to give
your positive and final Answer, by way of confession or
denial of the Charge.

King. ‘ Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give sa-
tisfaction to the People of England, of the clearness of my
‘ Proceedings, not by way of answer, not in this way, but
‘ to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust
‘ that hath been committed to me, I would do it ; but to
‘ acknowledge a new Court against their Priviledges, to
‘ alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom ; Sir, you
‘ must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the third time that you have pub-
licly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon it ; how
far you have preserved the Priviledges of the People, your
Actions have spoke it ; but truly Sir, Mens intentions ought
to be known by their actions, you have written your mean-
ing in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom ;
but, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court ———

Clerk,

Cleik, Record the Default, ———— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will only say this one word to you, if it were only my own particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

President. Sir, you have heard the Pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all Persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Westminster-Hall, by ten of the Clock the next morning.

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of England.

The Fourth days Proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, on Saturday the 27. of January 1648.

The Names of those Persons that were present at the Sentence of the KING to Death.

John Bradshaw, President.
 John Lisle,
 William Say,
 Oliver Cromwel,
 Henry Ireton,
 Sir Hardresse Waller,
 Valentine Walton,
 Thomas Harrison,
 Edward Whalle,
 Thomas Pride,
 Isaac Ewers,
 Lord Gray of Groby,
 Sir John Danvers Knight,
 Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.
 Sir John Bourchier Knight,
 William Heveningham,
 Alderman Kenington,
 William Purefoy,
 Henry Martyn,
 John Barkstead,
 John Blackiston,

Gilbert Millington,
 Sir William Constable, Bar.
 Edmond Ludlow,
 John Hutchinson,
 Sir Mich. Livesey, Bar.
 Robert Titchbourne,
 Owen Roe,
 Robert Lilburn,
 Adrian Scroop,
 Richard Deane,
 John Okey,
 John Hewson,
 William Goffe,
 Cornelius Holland,
 John Carey,
 John Jones,
 Miles Corbet,
 Francis Allin,
 Peregrine Pelham,
 John Moore,
 John Aldred,

Henry Smith,
 Humphrey Edwards,
 Gregory Clement,
 Thomas Wogan,
 Sir Gregory Norton Knight,
 Edmond Harvy,
 John Venn,
 Thomas Scot,
 Thomas Andrews Alderman,
 William Cawley,
 Anthony Stapely,
 John Downes,

Thomas Horton,
 Thomas Hammond,
 Nicholas Love,
 Vincent Potter,
 Augustine Garland,
 John Dixwel,
 George Fleetwood,
 Simon Meyne,
 James Temple,
 Peter Temple,
 Daniel Blagrave,
 Thomas Waite,

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called Serjeant *Bradshaw* Lord *President*, in his Scarlet Robe, (suitable to the work of this day) with 68 other Members of the Court called. As the King came into the Court, in his usual posture with his Hat on, a Cry made in the Hall by some of the Soldiers for *Justice, Justice, and Execution.*

King. 'I shall desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of Interruption.

President You may answer in your time, hear the Court first.

King. 'If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any occasion of Interruption; and it is only in a word, a sudden Judgment. —————

President. You shall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court first.

King. 'Sir I desire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say: And therefore Sir, a hasty Judgment is not so soon recalled

President. Sir, you shall heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. 'Well Sir, Shall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

President. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar, hath been several times convented and brought before the Court, to make answer to a Charge of Treason and other high Crimes exhibited against him, in the name of the People of England; to which Charge, being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying

Here an Honourable Lady interrupted the Court, saying, Not half the People; but she was soon silenced.

the

the commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice; as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate upon the Authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer. Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any Man's wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into Consideration; they have considered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy; they have likewise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Prisoner, and, upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced against this prisoner: But now, in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that you have to say, be to offer any Debate concerning Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they should presume to Judge upon their Superiority, from whom there is no Appeal. But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. Since that I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it, but only I must tell you, That this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call more dear to me than my Life, which is, My Conscience and my Honour; and if I had respect to my Life, more than the Peace of the Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my self; for by that at least wise I might have delayed

‘an ugly Sentence which I believe will pass upon me. There-
 ‘fore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some understanding,
 ‘some knowledge of the World, if that my true zeal to my
 ‘Country, had not overborn the care that I have of my own
 ‘preservation, I should have gone another way to work
 ‘than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive, that an hasty
 ‘Sentence once past, may be sooner repented than recalled;
 ‘and truly the self same desire that I have for the Peace of
 ‘the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my
 ‘own particular, does make me now at last desire, That
 ‘having something for to say that concerns both, I desire
 ‘before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Paint-
 ‘ed Chamber before the Lords and Commons: This delay
 ‘cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say, if that I
 ‘say no reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot
 ‘be judge of that that I have, if it be Reason, and real for
 ‘the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject;
 ‘I am sure on it, very well it is worth the hearing; therefore
 ‘I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it
 ‘is real, the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the King-
 ‘dom; that you will grant me the Hearing, before any Sen-
 ‘tence be passed; I only desire this, that you will take this
 ‘into your Consideration, it may be you have not heard of
 ‘it before-hand, if you will, I’ll retire, and you may think
 ‘of it: But if I cannot get this liberty, I do here protest,
 ‘that so fair shews of Liberty and Peace, are pure shews, and
 ‘not otherwise, than that you will not hear your K I N G.

President. Sir, you have now spoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

President. And this that you have said is a further declin-
 ing of the Jurisdiction of the Court, which was the thing
 wherein you were limited before.

King. ‘Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption, because
 ‘you mistake me, it is not a declining of it, you do judge
 ‘me before you hear me speak; I say, it will not, I do not
 ‘decline it, tho’ I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of
 ‘the Court; yet, Sir, in this give me leave to say, I would
 ‘do it, tho’ I did not acknowledge it in this, I do protest
 ‘it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I say any
 ‘thing but that that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and
 ‘the Liberties of the Subject, then the shame is mine. Now
 ‘I desire that you will take this into your Consideration;
 ‘if you will, I’ll withdraw.

President.

President. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, tho' the first time in Person you offered it to the Court. Sir, you say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. 'Not in this that I have said.

President. I understand you well, Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: It is not as you say, *That they will not hear your King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure, for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the Peoples Charge against you; to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all: Sir, this tends to a further delay: Truly, Sir, such delays as these, neither may the Kingdom, nor Justice well bear; You have had three several days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased: This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a *co-ordinate Jurisdiction*, I know very well you express your self, Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so; but, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer, they are not bound in Justice to grant; but, Sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court, upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

Pres. Sir, you shall know the pleasure of the Court presently: the Court withdraws for half an hour into the *Court of Wards*.

Serjeant at Arms. The Court gives command that the Prisoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour, and returns.

President. Serjeant at Arms, send for your Prisoner.

Sir, You were pleased to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a desire of yours touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the *Painted-Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before

fore the Court adjourned ; Truly, Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing ; they have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the *supreme Authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament*. The Court acts accordingly to their Commission : Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay, and they are J U D G E S appointed by the Highest J U D G E S ; and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice : they are good words in the old Charter of England, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Justitiam*. There must be no delay. But the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long since proceeded to judgment against you ; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Punishment, and to Judgment ; and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King. ‘ Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute : I am
 ‘ no Sceptic for to deny the Power that you have, I know
 ‘ that you have Power enough ; Sir I confess I think it
 ‘ would have been for the Kingdoms Peace, if you would
 ‘ have taken the pains to have shown the lawfulness of
 ‘ your Power ; for this delay that I have desired, I confess
 ‘ it is a delay, but it is a delay very important for the
 ‘ Peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my Person that I
 ‘ look on alone, it is the Kingdoms Welfare, and the King-
 ‘ doms Peace ; it is an old Sentence, *That we should think*
 ‘ *on long before we have resolved of great matters suddenly* :
 ‘ Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your
 ‘ doors all the Inconveniency of an hasty Sentence ; I
 ‘ confess, I have been here now I think this Week, this
 ‘ day eight days was the day I came here first, but a lit-
 ‘ tle delay of a day or two further, may give Peace,
 ‘ whereas an *hasty Judgment* may bring on that Trouble
 ‘ and perpetual Inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the
 ‘ Child that is unborn may repent it ; and therefore again
 ‘ out of the Duty I owe to God, and to my Country, I
 ‘ do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Com-
 ‘ mons in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber that
 ‘ you will appoint me.

President

President. Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgment of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know, whether you have any more to say for your self, than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. 'I say this, Sir, That if you will hear me, if you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that, and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, That you will consider it once again.

President. Sir, I have received directions from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

President. If this must be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to say.

King. 'I have nothing more to say, but I shall desire that this may be entred what I have said.

President. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which altho' I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty. Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wished that God put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really indeavoured and studied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions must expound Intentions*, your actions have been clean contrary; and truly, Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous Principles, the Kingdom hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it; for, Sir, you have held your self, and let fall such Language, as if you had been no ways subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superior. Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and I hope so are all the understanding People of *England*, That the Law is your Superior. That you ought to have ruled according to the Law; you ought to have done so, Sir. I know very well your pretence hath been, that you have done so, but, Sir, the difference hath been, *who shall be the Expositors of this Law?* Sir, whether you and your Party out of Courts of Justice, shall take upon them to expound Law, or the Courts of Justice, who

who are the expounders, nay, the Sovereign and *the high Court of Justice, the Parliament of England*, who are not only *the highest expounders, but the sole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to set your self with your single judgment, and those that adhere unto you, against *the high Court of Justice, that is not Law*. Sir, as the Law is your Superior, so truly, Sir, there is something that is Superior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author of the Law*, and that is *the People of England*. For Sir, as they are those that at the first, (as other Countries have done) did chuse to themselves the *Form of Government*, even for justice sake, that justice might be administred, that peace might be preserved; so Sir, they gave Laws to their Governours, according to which they should govern; and if those Laws should have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the public, they had a power in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they shall see cause. Sir, it is very true, what some of your side have said, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will say the same, while *King*, That you have not your Peer in some sence, for you are *Major singulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor universis*; and the same Author tells you, that in *exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but in *quasi minimis*.

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet superiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, and so says the same Author, and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frenum*, They ought to Bridle him; and Sir, we know very well the Stories of old, Those Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did stand out for the *liberty and property of the Subject*, and would not suffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants freely, but called them to an account for it, we know that truth, That they did *frenum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindful of their own Honour and the Kingdoms Good, as the *Barons of England* will not be unmindful of what is for their preservation, and for their safety, *Justitia fruendi causa reges constituunt sunt*. This we learn, the end of having Kings, or any other Governours, it's for the enjoying of Justice, that's the end; Now, Sir, if so be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he must understand that he is but an Officer of Trust, and he ought to discharge that Trust, and they are to take Order for the Animadversion and Punishment of such an offending Governour.

This

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your People) but it is Law of old; and we know very well the *Authors* and *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their people, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called *Parliaments*; the *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) the *plaints, wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children, such wrong especially, when the people could have no where else any remedy.* Sir, that hath been the People of England's case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in *Parliament*.

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose, to redress the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly, Sir, if so be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty and State*, than in the *Parliament*: But how forgetful some have been, *stories* have told us: We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it, Sir, by the old Laws of England; I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had so much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in England; it is very well Sir, And truly, Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of England, to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must live, and by which they must be Governed. And then, Sir, the *Scripture* says, *They that know their Master's Will and do it not, What follows?* The Law of your Master, the Acts of *Parliament*.

The *Parliaments* were to be kept antiently, we find in our Author twice in the year, *That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy, and redress for his Grievance.* Afterwards, by several acts of *Parliament* in the days of your Predecessor Edward the third, they must have been once a year; Sir, what intermission of *Parliaments* hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the sad consequence of it, and what in the interim instead of these *Parliaments* hath been by you by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the People, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had so brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a *Parliament*; Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the Antient, and your Native Kingdom of Scotland: The *Parliament of Eng-*
land,

land not serving your Ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great Necessity occasioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your Designs and Plots, and Endeavours all along have been for ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; And truly, Sir, in that you did strike at all that had been a sure way to have brought about this, that lies upon you, *Your Intention to subvert the Fundamental Laws of this Land.* For the great Bulwark of *Liberty of the People*, is the P A R L I A M E N T of England; and to Subvert and Root up that, which your Aim hath been to do, certainly at one Blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Propriety of England.

Truly, Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to express it, for, Sir, we must deal plainly with you, according to the Merits of your Cause, so is our Commission; it makes me call to mind (these Proceedings of yours) that we read of a great Roman Emperour, by the way let us call him a great Roman Tyrant, Caligula, *that wish'd that the People of Rome had had but one Neck, that at one Blow he might cut it off:* And your Proceedings have been somewhat like to this, for the Body of the People of England hath been (and where else) presented both in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one Blow cut off the Neck of England: But God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased to confound your Designs, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Person into Custody, that you might be responsible to Justice. X

Sir, we know very well, that it is a Question on your side very much press'd, *by what Precedent we shall proceed?* Truly, Sir, for Precedents, I shall not upon these Occasions institute any long Discourse; but it is no new thing to cite Precedents almost of all Nations, where the People (when Power hath been in their Hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the Change of Government hath upon Occasions of the Tyranny and Misgovernment of those that have been placed over them: I will not spend time to mention France or Spain, or the Empire, or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them; but truly, Sir, that of the Kingdom of Aragon, I shall think some of us have thought upon it, when they have the Justice of Aragon, That is a Man *tanquam in medio positus* betwixt the King of Spain, and the People of the Country; that if Wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of Aragon, the Justice hath Power to reform the Wrong.

wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the King's Superior and is the grand Preserver of their Privileges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their Miscarriages.

Sir, what the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedamonion State*; we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *English State*: And though *Rome* seem to have lost its *Liberty* when once the Emperors were, yet you shall find some famous Acts of Justice even done by the Senate of *Rome*, that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the *Senate*. But truly, Sir, to you I should not mention these Foreign Examples and Stories. If we look but over *Tweed*, we find enough in your native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your first King *Fergusus*, that your Stories make mention of, he was an elective King, he died, and left two Sons both in their Minority; the Kingdom made choice of their Uncle his Brother, to Govern in the Minority: Afterwards the Elder Brother giving small Hopes to the People that he would Rule or Govern well, seeking to supplant that good Uncle of his, that Governed then justly, they set the Elder aside, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I should come to what your Stories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109 King of *Scotland*; for to mention so many Kings as that Kingdom, according to their Power and Privilege, have made bold to deal withal, some to Banish, and some to Imprison, and some to put to Death; and as one of your Authors says, it would be too long to recite the manifold Examples that your own Stories make mention of: *Reges* (say they) we do create, we created Kings at first, *Leges*, &c. we imposed Laws upon them; and as they are chosen by the Suffrages of the People at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same Suffrages, they may be taken down again: And we will be bold to say, That no Kingdom hath yielded more plentiful Experience, than that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland* has done, concerning the Deposition, and the Punishment of their offending and transgressing Kings, &c.

It is not far to go for an Example near you, your Grandmother set aside, and your Father an Infant, Crowned; and the State did it here in *England*: Here hath not been a Want of some Examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the People of *England*) to call their Kings to Account; there are frequent Examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conquest. Since the Conquest there wants not some Precedents neither, King *Edw.* II. and *Rich.* II. were dealt with

with so by the Parliament, as they were deposed and deprived: And truly, Sir, who ever shall look into their Stories, they shall not find the Articles that are charged upon them, to come near to that Height and Capitalness of Crimes that are laid to your Charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleased to say the other day, wherein they dissent, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the Charge speaks, and no otherwise admitted King of England, but for that you were pleased then to alledge, how that almost for a Thousand Years these things have been, Stories will tell you, if you go no higher than the time of the Conquest; if you come down since the Conquest, you are the 24th King from William, called the Conqueror, you shall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the point of Descent; it were easie to be instanced to you, the time must not be lost that way. And truly, Sir, what a grave and learned Judge said in his time, and well known to you, is since Printed for Posterity, *That although there was such a thing as a Descent many times, yet the Kings of England ever held the greatest Assurance of their Titles, when it was declared by Parliament*: And, Sir, your Oath, the manner of your Coronation doth shew plainly, That the Kings of England, and though it's true, by the Law the next Person in Blood is designed; yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the People of England might do it. For there is a *Contract and Bargain* made between the King and his People, and your Oath is taken; and certainly, Sir, the Bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, so they liege Subjects; and we know very well, that hath been so much spoken of, *Ligantia est duplex*. This we know now, the one Tye, the one Bond, is the Bond of Perfection which is due from the Sovereign; the other is the Bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this Bond be once broken, farewell Sovereignty; *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

These things may not be denied, Sir, I speak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your Heart, that you may be sensible of your Miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, a *Protector* of England, or the *Destroyer* of England, let all England judge, or all the World that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denied that your Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of the highest Trust lodged in any single Person: For as you were the grand *Administrator* of Justice, and others were as your *Dele-*

gates, to see it done throughout your Realms, if your great Office were to do Justice, and preserve your People from Wrong, and instead of doing that, you will be the great Wrong-doer your self: If, instead of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be a *Grand Disturber of the Peace*, surely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust. Now, Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you speak of your Title by *Descent*, let all Men know that great Offices are seisable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a Year, and for your Life; therefore, Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious Consideration, your great Miscarriages in this kind.

Truly, Sir, I shall not particularize the many Miscarriages of your Reign whatsoever, they are famously known; it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known, and so much felt, as the Story of your Miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *highest Court*, hath been, and is to Try and Judge you for great Offences of Yours. Sir, the *Charge* hath called you *Tyrant*, a *Traitor*, a *Murtherer*, and a *public Enemy to the Commonwealth of England*. Sir, it had been well, if that any of all these Terms might rightly and justly have been spared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha!

President. Truly, Sir, we have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if so be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then see how you come short of it in your Actions, whether the highest Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have sought to introduce, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny, as any of your Predecessors were guilty of; nay many Degrees beyond it.

Sir, the Term Traitor cannot be spared, we shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of Trust, and it must suppose it to be done by a Superior; and therefore, Sir, as the People of England might have incurred that, respecting you if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; so on the other side, when you did break your Trust to the Kingdom, you did break your Trust to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were trusted: And therefore, Sir, for this breach of Trust, when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat*. And, Sir, the People of England cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having

dealt

dealt so miraculously and gloriously for, they having Power in their Hands, and their great Enemy, they must proceed to do Justice to themselves and to you : For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, That you would lay your Hand upon your Heart, and consider what you have done amiss ; That you would endeavour to make your Peace with God. Truly, Sir, these are your high Crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a third thing too, if those had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your Charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed since this time that the Division was betwixt you and your People, must be laid to your Charge, that have been acted or committed in these late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying Sin ; and truly, Sir, if any Man will ask us what Punishment is due to a Murtherer, let God's Law, let Man's Law speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture, as to know what God himself hath said concerning *the shedding of Man's Blood*, Gen. 9. Num. 35. will tell you what the Punishment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are sensible of, that innocent Blood that has been shed, whereby indeed the Land stands still defiled with that Blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleansed but with the shedding of the Blood of him that shed this Blood.* Sir, we know no Dispensation from this Blood in that Commandment, *Thou shalt do no Murther* ; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meanest Peasants, the meanest of the People ; the Command is Universal. Sir, God's Law forbids it, Man's Laws forbid it, nor do we know that there is any manner of Exception, not even in Man's Laws, for the Punishment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the case of Kings, every private Hand was not to put forth it self to this Work for their Reformation and Punishment ; But, Sir, the People represented, having Power in their Hands, had there been but one wilful act of Murther by you committed, had Power to have convented you, and to have punished you for it.

But then, Sir, the Weight that lies upon you in all those respects that have been spoken, by reason of your *Tyranny, Treason, breach of Trust*, and the Murthers that have been committed, surely, Sir, it must drive you into a sad Consideration concerning your eternal Condition. As I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call out selves and justifie our selves to be a Court, and a *High Court*

of Justice, authorized by the Higheſt and Solemneſt Court of the Kingdom, as we have often ſaid; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to diſcourt us, yet we do take Knowledge of our ſelves to be ſuch a Court as can adminiſter Juſtice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I ſhall ſay before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this: The Court does heartily deſire, that you will ſeriously think of thoſe Evils that you ſtand guilty of. Sir, you ſaid well to us the other Day, you wiſh'd us to have God before our Eyes; truly, Sir, I hope all of us have ſo: That God that we know, is a King of Kings and Lord of Lords; that God with whom there is no reſpect of Perſons; that God that is the Avenger of innocent Blood, we have that God before us; that God that does beſtow a Curſe upon them that withhold their Hands from ſhedding of Blood, which is the caſe of guilty Malefactors, and that do deſerve Death: That God we have before our Eyes. And were it not that the Conſcience of our Duty, hath called unto this Place, and this Imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no Appearance of a Court here: But, Sir, we muſt prefer the Diſcharge of our Duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other Reſpect whatſoever. And although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatened by ſome of your Party, what they intend to do, Sir, we do here declare, That we ſhall not decline, or forbear the doing of our Duty in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the Merit of your Offence, although God ſhould permit thoſe Men to effect all that bloody Deſign in hand againſt us. Sir, we ſhall ſay, and we will declare it, as thoſe Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worſhip the golden Image that Nebuchadnezzar had ſet up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that Danger that they were near unto*; but yet if he would not do it, yet notwithstanding that, they would not fall down and worſhip the Image: We ſhall thus apply it, That though we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody Hands and Hearts that conſpire the Overthrow of the Kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great Work of Juſtice, though we ſhould periſh in the Work, yet by God's Grace, and by God's Strength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf, we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a Senſe of your Sins, that you would ſee wherein you have done amiſs, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from Blood-guiltineſs. A good King was once guilty of that particular

cular thing, and was clear otherwise, saving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly, Sir, the Story tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it signifies enough that he had died for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him, and to give him his Pardon, *Thou shalt not die, but the Child shall die; thou hast given cause to the Enemies of God to blaspheme.*

King. ' I would desire only one word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear me concerning those great Imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

President. Sir, you must give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now past.

King. ' But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you, for truly whatever Sentence you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy Imputations I see by your Speech you have put upon me, that, Sir, it is very true that

President. Sir, I must put you in mind, Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. ' I know nothing of that.

President. You dis-avow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted; and the truth is, all along from the first time, You were pleased to dis-avow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard You one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: Sir, we have given you too much Liberty already and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your Behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous Charges, that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer, your Sins are of so large a Dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad Consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious Repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have Mercy at leastwise upon your better Part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that, that the Law pre-

scribes, we are not here *jus dare*, but *jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us. For to acquit the Guilty, is of equal Abomination as to condemn the Innocent; we may not acquit the Guilty: What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murther, and a Publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

The Lord *President* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, Silence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament, have Appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Trying of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convented, and at first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, was read in the Behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c.

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, He the said *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so exprest the several Passages at his Tryal, in refusing to answer.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence read, the Lord *President* said,

This Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, and assented to what the *President* said.

King. 'Will you hear me a word Sir?'

President. 'Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.'

King. 'No Sir?'

President. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I may speak after the Sentence——

By your favour Sir, I may speak after the Sentence ever.

By your favour (hold) the Sentence Sir—I say, Sir, I do—I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other People will have.

O Yes, All manner of Persons that have any thing else to

do, are to depart at this time, and to give their Attendance in the *Painted-Chamber*, to which Place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it self.

Then the Court rose, and the King went with his Guard to Sir Robert Cotton's, and from thence to *White-Hall*.

His Majesty being taken away by the Guard, as he passed down the Stairs, an insolent Soldier scoffed at him, casting the Smoak of his Tobacco (a thing most distastful to him) in his Face: And one more Insolent than the rest, spit in his Face; His Majesty according to his Heroic Patience took no more notice, but wip'd it off with his Handkerchief.

As he passed through the Guards he heard some of the Rabble crying out, *Justice, Justice*.

His Majesty reply'd, *Alas poor Souls! for a piece of Money they will do so for their Commanders*.

Ordered, That Sir Hardress Waller, Coll. Harrison, Com. Gen. Ireton, Coll. Dean, and Coll. Okey, are Appointed a Committee to consider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the High-Court of Justice.

Painted-Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

UPon Report made from the Committee for considering of the Time and Place for the executing of the Judgment against the King: That the said Committee have Resolved that the open Street before *White Hall* is a fit Place: And that the said Committee conceive it fit, That the King be there executed the Morrow, the King having already Notice thereof: The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and ordered to be Ingrossed; which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth.

The Warrant for Beheading the King.

At the High-Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart King of England, January 29. 1648.

WHereas Charles Stuart King of England, is, and standeth convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treason, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be

The Tryal of

be done: These are therefore to *Will* and *Require* you to see the said Sentence Executed in the open Street before White-Hall, upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this Instant Month of January, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect: And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and other the good People of this Nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this Service.

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Coll. Francis Hacker, Coll. Hunks, and Lieut. Coll. Phayer,
and to every of them:

Sealed and Subscribed by

J. Bradshaw, O. Cromwell, Hen. Ireton, Har. Waller, Jo. Lisle,
Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whalley, Mich. Levesey, F. Okey,
Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Will. Goffe, Tho. Pride, Tho.
Harrison, Jo. Hewson, Ri. Dean, Rob. Tichborn, Om. Roe, Jo.
Barkstead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Millington, Tho. Horton, W. Say,
W. Constable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven. Hen. Martin, &c.

Painted-Camber, Jan. 30. 1648.

The Commissioners met, and ordered, That Mr. Marshal, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, be desired to attend the King, to administer to him those Spiritual Helps, as should be suitable to His present Condition; and Lieut. Coll. Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpose.

Who did so, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them, expressing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with Black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to those Parties to whom the same was directed, Execution was done upon him according to the Tenour of the Warrant, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the said 30th of January.

Other Passages relating to the King before Execution.

Saturday Night January 27, the King lodged at *White-Hall*, and that Evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with the Desires of the King, that seeing they had passed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of his Execution might be nigh, that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Doctor *Juxon* Bishop of London, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, January 28th, the King was attended by his Guard to *St. James's*, where the Bishop of London Preached privately before him; his Text was in *Rom. 2. 16.* *In the day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*

Monday, Jan. 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where passed this following Discourse, as it was set down in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*. (Which Lady *Elizabeth* some Months after, being confined to *Curtisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*, died there with Grief for the Sufferings of her dear Father.

A true Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Gloucester*, the day before his Death.

HIS Children being come to meet him, He first gave his Blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, that it was his Father's last Desire that he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'll forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it whilst I live; and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head, (upon which words the Child looking very steadfastly on him) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as

your

your Brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at last: And therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in Pieces first: Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's own Hand.

WHat the King said to me the 29th of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happiness to see Him, He told me He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me which he had not to another, or leave in Writing, because he feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a glorious Death that He should die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, That his Thoughts never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withal, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my Leave.

Further, He commanded us all, to forgive those People, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them Power; and He feared also to their own Souls: And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a Martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

The King's Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold.

Tuesday, Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about Ten of the Clock, brought from his Palace at *St. James's*, to *White-Hall*, marching on foot (guarded with a Regiment of foot Soldiers) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of London on one side, and Col. *Tomlinson* on the other, both bare headed, bidding them go faster, saying, *That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown with less Solitude, than he had oftentimes bid his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he ascends the Stairs, leading to the *Long-Gallery* in *White-Hall*, and so into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where he formerly used to lodge; there his Majesty, with the Bishop of London, continued for some time in Devotion, and received the Blessed Sacrament from the Hand of the said Bishop; at which time he read for the Second Lesson, the 27th Chap. of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, which contained the History of the Death and Passion of our Blessed Saviour; the Communion ended, his Majesty thanked the Bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a Portion of Scripture. The Bishop modestly replied, no Thanks was due to him, for it was the Chapter appointed by the Rubrick of the Church for the Second Morning Lesson, for that day, being Jan. 30. here the King continued at his Devotion, refusing to dine, only about Twelve of the Clock, he eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret, from thence, about One a Clock, he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Col. *Tomlinson*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musqueteers on each side, through the *Banqueting-House*, adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected between *White-Hall-Gate*, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from *St. James's*: The Scaffold was hung round with Black, the Floor covered with black Bayes, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot of Col. *Pride's* Regiment, and several Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold towards *King's-Street*, and on the other side toward *Charing-Cross*, and the Multitudes of People that came to be Spectators, very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would say somewhat to the People, the which he did.

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Col. Hacker, if there were no higher? and then spake thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to Col. Thomlinson.)

King. **I** Shall be very little heard of, any Body, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment; but I think it is my Duty to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with Innocency: In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, That I never did intend for to inroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon me, it was the Militia they began upon; they confest that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: And to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I: So that the Guilt of these Enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God, that God will clear me of; I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt: For I do believe that ill Instruments between them and me, has been the chief Cause of all this Blood shed: So that by way or speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that God's Judgments are just upon me: Many times he does pay Justice by unjust Sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, That unjust Sentence *
 * Strafford. that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me, that is so. This I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian: I hope there is
 * a good Man that will bear me witness, That I have
 * Pointing to Dr. Fuxon. forgiven all the World, and even those in particular, that have been the chief Causers of my Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my
 Charity

Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge, nay not only so, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last Gasps the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wish with all my Soul, (* and I do hope there is some that will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

* Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way: For Conquest (Sir) in my Opinion is never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for matter of Wrong, or just Title, and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it unjust at the end, that was just at first: But if it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pyrat said to Alexander, that he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber: And so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put you in one way, believe it you will never do right, nor God will ever prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is, my Successors) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you; you must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out of order. For to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this; when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to a Gentleman (Mr. Clark, who wrote) * Meaning if he that touched the Ax, laid, * Hurt not did blunt the Edge, the Ax that may hurt me.) For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that, there-

therefore, because it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whatsoever, but I must tell you, That their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having Share in Government, (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them: "A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, That you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not bold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little more order, and a little better digested than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that you do take those Courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Dr. Fuxon. Will your Majesty say somewhat as to your Religion, for though your Majesty's Affections to Religion, may be well known to your Servants, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think it is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found
 * Pointing to it left me by my Father, and this honest
 Dr. Fuxon. Man * I think will witness it. Then turning to the

the Officers said, Sirs, Excuse me for this same, I have a good Cause, and I have a Gracious God, I will say no more. Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said, Take care they do not put me to Pain, and Sir this, and it please you, But when a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. Then the King speaking to the Executioner, said, I shall say but short Prayers, and when I thrust out my Hands —

Then the King called to Doctor Juxon for his Night-cap. and put it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* Who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop; then the King turning to Doctor Juxon, said, *I have a good Cause, and a Gracious God on my side.*

Doctor Juxon. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you shall find a great deal of Cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no Disturbance can be, no Disturbance in the World.*

Doctor Juxon. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?*

Then the King took off his Cloak, and his George, giving his George to Dr. Juxon, saying, *Remember.**

Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Wastecost, put his Cloak on * *It is thought again, then looking upon the Block, said for to give it to the Executioner, You must set it fast. to the Prince.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put my Hands out this way, stretching them out, then----*

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood to himself, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block; And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King said (thinking he had been going to strike) *Stay for the sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little Pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head

from his body; the head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the People; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet for that purpose and conveyed into his Lodgings there; And from thence it was carried to his house at Saint James's where his body was embalm'd, and put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a Fortnight to be seen by the People; and on the *Wednesday* sevensnight after, his Corps embalmed and confined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, viz. Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers; Captain *Preston*, and *John Foyner*, formerly Cook to his Majesty; they attended with others, cloathed in mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the King's Bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*, which Room was hang'd with black, and made dark, with Lights burning round the Herse; in which it remained till three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Lyndsey*, having obtained an order from the Parliament, for the Decent Interment of the King their Royal Master, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: at their coming into the Castle, they shewed their Order of Parliament to Colonel *Whichecott*, Governour of the Castle, desiring the Interment might be in St. George's Chapel, and by the form in the Common-prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this request was by the Governour denied, saying it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act. To which the Lords replied, there is a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no Power so binds its own hands, as to disable it self in some cases: all could not prevail, the Governour persisting in the negative. The Lords betook themselves to the search of a convenient place, for the Burial of the Corps, the which after some pains taken therein, they discover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the eighth, and his beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamon*, both in Coffins of Lead: in this Vault there being Room for one more, they resolve to inter the body

body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garrison, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of London following next, and other persons of Quality; the Body was committed to the earth with Sighs and Tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denyed to do the last Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Master; the Velvet Pall being cast into the Vault, was laid over the Body; upon the Coffin were these words set,

KING CHARLES, 1648.

His Majesty's Prayers in the time of his restraint.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned; look upon my Misery with thine Eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet, My God, if in thy Wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer: only this much let me crave of Thee, (Let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by thy Goodness which is thy Self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majesty so to shine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it my Noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still in my greatest Afflictions depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my Virtue. O let not their prevailing Power be to my Destruction. And if it be thy Will that they more and more vex me with punishments; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a kind; but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution

lution ever to serve Thee, without Fear or Presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to Thy Eternal Kingdom, through the Merit of thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession made in, and for the times of Affliction.

A Almighty and most merciful Father, as it is only thy goodness that admits of our Imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy Mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting, or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confess our Sins freely unto Thee; and of all Men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having been so much obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of Knowledge which Thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my Transgressions. For was it through Ignorance that I suffer'd Innocent Blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship, to be set up in Scotland? and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasion of worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right inform'd Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know my Repentance weak, and my Prayers faulty: Grant therefore merciful Father, so to strengthen my Repentance, and amend my Prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine own Mercies, to which, O let thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved Afflictions. In the meantime, give me Patience to endure Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning Spirit, to chuse what is best for thy Church and People which thou hast committed to my Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of Imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father, though my Sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present
great

An Elegy on King Charles I.

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great danger ; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all thy Works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for Succour, it were to multiply, not diminish my Transgressions to despair of Thy Heavenly Favour : Wherefore, I humbly desire Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all my Sins, but also free Me out of the Hands, and protect me from the malice of my Cruel Enemies. But if Thy Wrath against my heinous Offences will not otherways be satisfied than by suffering me to fall under my present Afflictions, Thy Will be done ; yet with humble Importunity, I do, and shall never leave to implore the Assistance of Thy Heavenly Spirit, that my Cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer thro my weakness, or want of Courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth and manfully endure this Bloody Tryal, and so my Sufferings here may not only Glorify Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for His Sake who suffered for me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

An Elegy on the Sufferings and Death of King Charles I.

Come, come, let's Mourn, all Eyes that see this Day,
Melt into Showers, and Weep your selves away :
O that each private Head could yield a Flood
Of Tears, whilst Britain's Head streams out His Blood ;
Could we pay what his Sacred Drops might claim,
The World must needs be Drowned once again.
Hands cannot Write for Trembling ; Let our Eye
Supply the Quill, and shed an Elegy.
Tongues cannot speak ; this Grief knows no such vent,
Nothing but Silence can be Eloquent.
Words are not here Significant ; in This
Our Sighs, our Groans bear all the Emphasis.
Dread Sir ! What shall we say ? Hyperbole
Is not a Figure, when it speaks of Thee }
Thy Book is our best Language ; what to this
Shall'er be added, is thy Meiosis :

54 *An Elegy on King Charles I.*

Thy *Name's* a *Text* too hard for us: no men
Can write of it, without *Thy Parts* and *Pen*.

Thy *Prisons*, *Scorns*, *Reproach* and *Poverty*
(Though these were thought too courteous Injury)
How could'st Thou bear? Thou Meeker *Moses*, how?
Was ever *Lion* bit with *Whelps* till now
And did not roar? Thou *England's David*, how
Did *Shimei's* Tongue not move Thee? Where's the Man?
Where is the *King*? *Charles* is all *Christian*.
Thou never wanted'st Subjects, no; when they
Rebell'd, thou mad'st thy Passions to obey.
Had'st thou regain'd thy Throne of State by Power,
Thou had'st not then been more a *Conqueror*.

But Thou, thine own *Souls Monarch*, art above
Revenge and Anger, Can'st thou tame thy Love?
How could'st thou bear thy *Queens* Divorce? must She
At once thy *Wife*, and yet thy *Widow* be?
Where are thy tender *Babes* once Princely bred,
Thy choicest Jewels, are they *Sequestred*?
Where are thy Nobles? Lo, instead of these
Base savage Villains, and thine Enemies:
Egyptian Plague! 'twas only *Pharaoh's* doom
To see such Vermin in His Lodging-room.
What Guards are set, what Watches do they keep?
They do not think thee safe though lock't in *Sleep*.
Would they confine thy Dreams within to dwell,
Nor let thy Fancy pass their *Centinel*?
Are thy *Devotions* dangerous? or do
Thy *Prayers* want a Guard? these faulty too?
Variet's 'twas only, when they spake for You.

But lo, a charge is drawn, a Day is set,
The silent *Lamb* is brought, the *Wolves* are met.
Law is arraign'd of *Treason*, *Peace* of *War*,
And *Justice* stands a Prisoner at the Bar.
This Scene was like the *Passion Tragedy*,
His *Saviour's* Person none could act but He.
Behold what *Scribes* were here, what *Pharisees*!
What bands of *Soldiers*! What false *Witnesses*!
Here was a *Priest*, and that a *Chief* one; who
Durst strike at *God*, and his *Vicerent* too.
Here *Bradshaw*, *Pilate* there: this makes them twain,
Pilate for Fear, *Bradshaw* condemn'd for Gain.

Wretch!

Wretch! couldst not thou be rich, till *Charles* was dead:
Thou might'st have took the *Crown*, yet spar'd the *Head*.
Th' hast justifi'd that *Roman* Judge; He stood
And wash'd in *Water*, thou hast dipt in *Blood*.

And where's the Slaughter-House, *White-Hall* must be,
Lately His *Palace*, now his *Calvarie*.

Great *Charles*, is this thy dying Place? And where
Thou wert our *King*, art thou our *Martyr* there?

Thence, thence thy Soul took flight; and there will we
Not cease to *Mourn*, where thou didst cease to *Be*.

And thus, blest Soul, He's gone: a *Star*, whose fall
As no *Eclipse* proves *Oecumenical*.

That Wretch had skill to Sin, whose Hand did know
How to Behead three Kingdoms at one blow.

England hath lost the Influence of her *King*,
No wonder that so backward was Her *Spring*.

O dismal Day! but yet how quickly gone?
It must be short, Our *Sun* went down at *Noon*,

And now, ye *Senators*, is this the thing
So oft declar'd? Is this your *Glorious King*?
Did you by *Oaths* your God and Country mock,
Pretend a *Crown*, and yet prepare a *Block*?
Did you, that swore you'd Mount *Charles* higher yet,
Intend the *Scaffold* for His *Olivet*?

Was this, *Hale Master*? Did you bow the Knee
That you might Murther him with *Loyalty*?
Alas! two Deaths! what cruelty was this?
The *Ax* design'd, you might have spar'd the *Kiss*.

London, did'st thou Thy Prince's Life betray?
What? could thy *Sables* vent no other way?
Or else did'st thou bemoan His *Cross*? then ah!
Why would'st thou be the cursed *Golgotha*?
Thou once had'st Men, Plate, Arms, a Treasury
To bind thy *King*, and hast thou none to free?
Dull beast! thou should'st before thy *Head* did fall,
Have had at least thy Spirits *Animal*.

Did you, ye *Nobles*, envy *Charles* His *Crown*?
Jove being tal'n, the *Punie-gods* must down.
Your Rays of *Honour* are eclips'd in Night,
The *Sun* is set, from whence You drew your *Light*.

Religion veils her self; and *Mourns* that She
Is forc'd to own such horrid Villany.

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The Church and State do shake; the Building must
Expect to fall, whose Prop is turn'd to Dust.

But cease from Tears. Charles is of Light bereav'n;
And snuff on Earth to Shine more bright in Heaven.

*An. beautiful simile supported by a verie
elevated language - Snuff is good signified*

The Dying Speeches of several of the No-
bility and Gentry, who suffer'd for
their Loyalty to His Late Sacred Ma-
jesty, King Charles I.

*The Speech of the Earl of Strafford Lord Deputy
of Ireland at his Tryal in Westminster-Hall,
Immediately before the Sentence, May 4. 1641.*

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treason,
that I should be guilty of the Endeavouring to
subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land, that
they should now be Treason together, that is, not
Treason in any one Part, but Treason accumulative, that
so when all will not do, it is woven up with others,
it would seem very strange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive that there
is either Statute Law, or Common-Law that doth
declare the endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental
Laws, to be High Treason,

For neither Statute-Law, nor Common-Law written
that ever I could hear of, declareth it so.

And yet I have been diligent to Enquire (as I believe
you think it doth concern me to do)

It is hard to be question'd for Life and Honour upon
a Law that cannot be shewn.

There is a Rule which I have learned from Sir Edward
Coke, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*,
(Jesu) where hath this Fire lain all this while, so many hun-
dred of Years, without any smoak to discover it, till it thus
burst

burst out to consume me and my Children? extreme hard in my Opinion, that Punishment should precede Promulgation of Law, Punishment by a Law subsequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your considerations: for certainly it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the Will of Men, than to conform ourselves under the Protection of a Law as we think, and then be punished for a Crime that doth precede the Law: What Man can be safe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another Respect, that there should be no Token set upon this Offence, by which we should know it, no Admonition by which we should be aware of it.

If a Man pass down the *Thames* in a Boat, and it be split upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be set as a Token that there is an Anchor there, that Party that owes the Anchor, by the Marine Laws, shall give Satisfaction for the Damage done; but if it were marked out, I must come upon my own Peril.

Now where is a Mark upon this Crime? Where is the Token this is high Treason?

If it be under Water, and not above Water, no humane Providence can avail or prevent my Destruction.

Lay aside all humane Wisdom, and let us rest upon divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you forewarn the Danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordships be pleased to give that Regard to the Peerage of *England*, as never to suffer our selves to be put on those nice Points upon such constructive Interpretations; and these are where Laws are not clear, or known. If there must be a Trial of Wits, I do humbly beseech you, the Subject and Matter may be somewhat else than the Lives and Honours of Peers.

My Lords, we find that the Primitive Times, in the Progression of the plain Doctrine of the Apostles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them. And so likewise, as I do conceive, it will be Wisdom and Providence in your Lordships, for your Posterity and the whole Kingdom, to cast from you into the Fire these bloody and most mysterious Volumes of Constructive and Arbitrary Treason; and to betake your selves to the plain Letters of
the

58 *The Earl of Strafford's Speeches.*

the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the Crime is, and by telling what is, and what is not, shews us how to avoid it. And let us not be Ambitious to be more Wise and Learned in the Killing Arts than our Forefathers were.

It is now full two hundred and forty years since ever any Man was touch'd for this alledg'd Crime (to this height) before my self: we have liv'd happily to our selves at home, and we have liv'd gloriously to the World abroad.

Let us rest contented with that our Fathers left us; and not awaken those sleepy Lions to our own Destructions; by raking up a few musty Records, that have lain so many Ages by the Walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordships be nobly pleased, not to add this to those other mis-fortunes befallen me for my Sins, not for my Treasons, that a President should be deriv'd from me of that disadvantage (as this will be in the consequent to the whole Kingdom.) I beseech you seriously to consider it, and let not my particular cause be looked upon as you do: Tho' you wound me in my Interest in the Commonwealth, and therefore those Gentlemen say, that they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this Particular I indeed speak for it, and the Inconveniencies and Mischiefs that will heavily fall upon us: For as it is in the first of *Henry* the fourth, no Man will after know what to do or say for fear.

Do not put, my Lords, so great difficulties upon the Ministers of State, that Men of Wisdom, Honour, and Vertue, may not with Chearfulness and Safety be Employed for the Publick; if you weigh and measure them by Grains and Scruples, the publick Affairs of the Kingdom will be laid waste, and no Man will meddle with them that hath Honours, Issues, or any Fortunes to lose.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the Interest of those dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven left me; I should be loth, my Lords, (there he stopped.)

What I forfeit for my self it is nothing, but that my Indiscretion should forfeit for my Child, it even woundeth me deep to the very Soul

You will pardon my Infirmary, something I should have said, but I am not able, (and Sighed) therefore let it pass.

And now, my Lords, I have been, by the Blessing of Almighty

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mighty God, taught, that the Afflictions of this Life present are not to be compared to the eternal weight of that glory that shall be revealed to us hereafter.

And so, my Lords, even so with Tranquility of Mind I do submit my self freely and clearly to your Lordships Judgments, and whether that righteous Judgment shall be to life or death.

Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur.

The Earl of Strafford's Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-Hill, May 12. 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland,

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you these many Years, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here; I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I shall not, the noise is so great. My Lords, I am come hither by the good Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last Debt I owe to Sin, which is Death, and by the Blessing of that God, to rise again through the Merits of *Jesus Christ* to Righteousness and Life eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted]

My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that Judgment which hath passed against me. I do it with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world, a Forgiveness that is not spoken from the teeth outwards (as they say) but from the very Heart. I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing Thought arising in me towards any Man living. I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my Employment, since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual Prosperity of King and People; although it hath been my ill fortune to be mis-
construed.

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I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind, it is the common Portion of us all, while we are in this Life to err, Righteous Judgment we must wait for in another Place, for here we are very subject to be misjudged one of another : There is one thing that I desire to free my self of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with so much chearfulness) that I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the belief of it, I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of *England* were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best Means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the Intentions and Purposes of my Heart I am not guilty for what I die for : And my Lord Primate, it is a great Comfort for me that his Majesty conceives me not Meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment as is the utmost Execution of this Sentence ; I do infinitely rejoyce in this Mercy of his, and I beseech God return it into his own Bosome, that he may find Mercy when he stands most in need of it.

I wish this Kingdom all the Prosperity and Happiness in the World, I did it living, and now dying it is my wish ; I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the Happiness and Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood : consider this when you are at your Homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgment, against any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one Word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England*, wherein I was born and in which I was Bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I say truly from my Heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty Years of Age to this present, going now upon Forty Nine, I never had in my Heart to doubt this Religion of the Church of *England*. Nor ever had any

Man

Man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my Remembrance : and so being reconciled by the Merits of *Jesus Christ* my *Saviour*, into whose Bosome I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternal Happinesses which shall never have end ; I desire heartily the forgiveness of every Man, for any rash or unadvised Words, or any thing done amiss ; and so my Lords and Gentlemen Farewel ; Farewel all the things of this World.

I desire that you would be silent and joyn with me in Prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all Happiness, where every Tear shall be wiped away from our Eyes, and every sad Thought from our Hearts ; and so God bless this Kingdom, and *Jesus* have mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himself about he saluted all the Noblemen ; and took a Solemn Leave of all considerable Persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his Hand.

After that he said, Gentlemen, I would say my Prayers, and intreat you all to Pray with me, aid for me : then his Chaplain laid the Book of Common-Prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he Prayed almost a quarter of an Hour, and then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lord's Prayer.

Standing up he espies his Brother, *Sir George Wentworth*, and calls him to him, saying, Brother, we must part, remember me to my sister, and to my Wife, and carry my Blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient Son to the Church of *England*, and warn him that he bears no private Grudge or Revenge toward any Man concerning me ; And bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Estate, and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

After] To his Son *Mr. Wentworth* he commends himself, and gives him Charge to serve his God, to submit to his King with all Faith and Allegiance in things Temporal, to the Church in things Spiritual, chargeth him again and again, as he will Answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for if he did, it would be a Canker to eat up the rest of his Estate.

Carry

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Carry my Blessing also to my Daughter *Anne*, and *Arabella*, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither Good nor Evil, and cannot speak for it self, God speak for it, and bless it; now said he I have nigh done, one Stroke will make my Wife Husbandless, my dear Children Fatherless, and my poor Servants Masterless, and will separate me from my dear Brother, and all my Friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his Doublet, and to make himself unready, he said, I thank God I am not afraid of Death, nor daunted with any discouragement arising from any Fears, but do as chearfully put off my Doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to Bed; then he put off his Doublet, wound up his Hair with his Hands; and put on a white Cap.

Then he called, where is the Man that is to do this last Office? (meaning the Executioner) call him to me; when he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the World: Then kneeling down by the Block, he went to Prayer again himself, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one side, and the Minister on the other: To the which Minister, after Prayer, he turned himself, having done Prayer, and spoke some few words softly, having his Hands lifted up, and closed with the Minister's Hands.

Then bowing himself to lay his Head upon the Block, he told the Executioner, that he would first lay down his Head to try the fitness of the Block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all. And so he did; and before he laid it down again, he told the Executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his Hands; and presently laying down his Neck upon the Block, and stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner struck off his Head at one Blow, and taking it up in his Hand, shewed it to all the People, and said, *God save the King.*

His Body was afterwards Embalmed, and appointed to be carried into *Yorkshire*, there to be buried amongst his Ancestors.

He left these three Instructions for his Son in Writing.

First, That he should continue it to be brought up under

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der those Governours to whom he had committed Him, as being the best he could pick out of all those within his knowledge, and that he should not change them unless they were weary of him; that he should rather want himself, than they should want any thing they could desire.

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would answer it at the last Day, not to put himself upon any publick Employments till he was thirty Years of Age at least: And then if his Prince should call him to Publick Service, he should carefully undertake it, to testifie his Obedience, and withal to be Faithful and Sincere to his Master, though he should come to the same End that himself did.

Thirdly, That he should never lay any Hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foresaw that Ruin was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be shared amongst the Nobility, and Gentry: But if his Son meddled with any of it, he wished the Curse of God might follow him, and all them, to the Destruction of the most Apostolical Church upon Earth.

A perfect Relation of the Suffering and Execution of the most Reverend Father in God William Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, January 10. 1644.

TH E time between the Sentence and the Execution, he spent in Prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, a Chaplain of his own, to attend upon him, and to assist him in the work of his preparation: Though little preparation needed to receive that Blow, which could not but be welcom because long expected. For so well was he studied in the art of Dying (especially in the last and strictest part of his Imprisonment) that by continual fasting, Watching, Prayers, and such like acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was rarified into Spirit, and the whole Man so fitted for Eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but triumphant) Christ to convey him thither. Friday Jan. 10. 1644. The fatal Morning being come, he first applied himself

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to his private Prayers, and so continued, till Pennington and other of their publick Officers came to Conduct him to the Scaffold: which he ascended with so brave a Courage, such a cheerful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than to be made a Sacrifice, and came not there to Die, but to be Translated. And to say Truth, it was no Scaffold, but a Throne, a Throne whereon he shortly was to receive a Crown, even the most glorious Crown of Martyrdom. And though some rude, uncivil People reviled him as he passed along with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace, it never discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturbed his Patience. For he had profited so well in the School of Christ, that when he was Reviled, he Reviled not again, when he suffered he threatned not, but committed his Cause to him that judgeth Righteously. And as he did not fear the Frowns, so neither did he covet the Applause of the vulgar Herd, and therefore rather chose to Read what he had to speak unto the People, than to affect the Ostentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful Agony: whether with great Magnanimity or Prudence, I can hardly say. As for the matter of his Speech besides what did concern himself and his own Purgation, his great Care was to clear His Majesty and the Church of England from any inclination unto Popery: with a Persuasion of the which, the Authors of the Miseries of these times had abused the People, and made them take up Arms against their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the last. By means whereof, as it is said of Sampson in the Book of Judges, that the Men which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life: so it may be affirmed of this famous Prelate, that he gave a greater blow unto the Enemies of God and the King at the Hour of his Death, than he had given them in his whole Life before. But this you will more clearly see by the Speech it self, which followeth here according to the best and most perfect Copies, published by one of his Chaplains, and Printed at Oxford.

*A Speech of the most Reverend Father in God
William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
spoken at his Death upon the Scaffold on Tower-
hill, January 10. 1644.*

Good People,

THis is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, *Heb. 12. 2.* *Let us run with Patience that race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our Faith. who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.*

I have been long in my *Race*, and how I have looked to *Jesus the Author and Finisher of my Faith*, He best knows: I am now come to the end of my *Race*, and here I find the *Cross*, a *Death of Shame*, but the *Shame* must be despised, or no coming to the *Right Hand of God*: *Jesus despised the Shame* for me, and God forbid but I should *despise the Shame* for him: I am going apace (as you see) towards the red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very brink of it; an Argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the *Land of Promise*, for that was the way through which he led his People: But before they came to it, he instituted a *Passover* for them, a *Lamb* it was, but it must be eaten with *sower Herbs*, I shall obey, and labour to digest the *sower Herbs*, as well as the *Lamb*. And I shall remember it in the *Lord's Passover*; I shall not think of the *Herbs*, nor be angry with the Hand which gathereth them; but look up only to him who instituted that, and governs these; For Men can have no more Power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this *Passage* through the *Red-Sea*, for I have the weakness and infirmities of *Flesh and Blood* plentifully in me: And I have Prayed with my Saviour, *ut transiret Calix iste*, that this *Cup of red Wine* might pass from me: But if not, *God's Will* (not mine) be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this *Cup* as deep as he pleases, and enter into this *Sea*, yea and pass through it, in the way that he shall lead me.

But I would have it remembred (Good People) that when God's Servants were in this boisterous Sea, and *As-*

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ren among them, the *Egyptians* which persecuted them
 (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were
 drowned in the same Waters, while they were in pursuit
 of them : I know my God whom I serve, is able to deliver
 me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the three
 Children from the Furnace ; and (I most humbly thank my
 Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then :
They would not worship the Image the King had set up. nor
 will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up ;
 nor will I forsake the *Temple and the Truth of God*, to follow
 the bleating of *Jereboams* Calf, in *Dan* and in *Bethel* And
 as for this People, they are at this day miserably misled
 (God of his mercy open their Eyes that they may see the
 right way) for at this day *the blind lead the blind*, and if
 they go on, *both will certainly fall into the Ditch*. For my self,
 I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous
 Sinner many ways, by thought, word, and deed, and I
 cannot doubt, but that God hath mercy in store for me a
 poor Penitent, as well as for other Sinners; I have now up-
 on this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my Heart,
 and yet, I thank God, I have not found (among the many)
 any one sin which deserves death by any known Law of
 this Kingdom. And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my
 Judges ; for if they proceed upon proof (by valuable Wit-
 nesses) I or any other innocent, may be justly Condemned.
 And I thank God, tho' the weight of the Sentence lies
 heavy upon me, I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my
 life. And tho' I am not only the first Archbishop, but
 the first man that ever died by an *Ordinance of Parliament*,
 yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, tho'
 not by this means; For *Elphagus* was hurried away and lost
 his head by the *Danes*; and *Simon Sulbury* in the fury of
Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, *St. John Baptist*
 had his Head danced off by a lewd Woman; and *St. Cy-
 prin* Archbishop of *Carthage*, submitted his Head to a per-
 secuting Sword. Many examples (great and good) and
 they teach me patience; for I hope my Cause in Heaven
 will look of another dye, than the colour that is upon it
 here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go
 the way of these great men in their several generations,
 but also that my Charge (as foul as it is made) looks like
 that of the *Jews* against *St. Paul* (*Acts* 25. 3.) For he was
 accu-

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accused for the *Law* and the *Temple*, i. e. *Religion*. And like that of *St. Stephen* (*Acts* 6. 14.) for breaking the *Ordinances* which *Moses* gave, i. e. *Law* and *Religion*, *the holy place and the Temple* (*verse* 13.) But you will say, do I then compare my self with the integrity of *St. Paul* and *St. Stephen*? No, far be that from me; I only raise a comfort to my self, that these great Saints and *Servants* of *God* were laid at in their times, as I am now. And 'tis memorable that *St. Paul* who helped on this Accusation against *St. Stephen*, did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in *Popery*; I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the *Pharises* laid against *Christ* himself, *If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, Et venient Romani, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and Nation*. Here was a causeless cry against *Christ*, that *the Romans will come*; And see how just the judgment of *God* was; they crucified *Christ* for fear lest the *Romans* should come, and his death was it which brought in the *Romans* upon them, *God* punishing them with that which they most fear'd; and I pray *God* this Clamour of *Veni-Romani* (of which I have given no cause help not to bring them in; for the *Pope* never had such a Harvest in *England* since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the *Sects* and *Divisions* that are amongst us. In the mean time by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing through this World, *2Cor.* 6.

And first, this I shall be bold to speak of, the King our gracious Sovereign, He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of *Popery*, but on my Conscience (of which I shall give *God* a very present account) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any man living; and I hold Him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by *Law* established) as any man in this Kingdom: And that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know, both His affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in *England*.

The second particular is concerning this great and *Populous City* (which *God* bless.) Here hath been of late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the Great

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Court of this Kingdom, (the Parliament) and clamour for Justice, as if that great and wise Court, before whom the Causes come (which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their appointment, A way, which may endanger many an *Innocent Man*, and pluck his blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps upon the Cities also. And this hath been lately practised against my self; [*the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without Check*]; God forgive the Setters of this (with all my Heart I beg it) but many well meaning People are caught by it. In Saint Stephen's Case, when nothing else would serve, *they stirred up the People against him*; and Herod went the same way, when he had killed Saint James, yet he would not venture upon St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed of having your *Hands full of Blood*, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God (above other Sins) *makes Inquisition for Blood*, and when that Inquisition is on Foot, the Psalmist tells us, *That God remembers* (but that's not all) *He remembers and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor*, that is, whose Blood is shed by Oppression, *verse 9.* take heed of this; 'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the living God, but then especially, *when See the Words at he is making Inquisition for Blood*; And large in the Title (with my Prayers to avert it) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expressed *Jer. 26. 15.*

The third particular is the poor Church of *England*. It hath flourished and been a shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when Storms have driven upon them. But, alas, now 'tis in a Storm it self. and God only knows whether, or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than a Storm from without) it's become like an Oak cleft to shivers with Wedges made out of its own Body, and at every cleft Prophaneness and Irreligion is entring in, while as *Prosper* speaks, (in his second Book *De vita contemptu*, cap. 4-) *Men that introduce prophaneness are cloaked over with the name Religionis Imaginarie, of Imaginary Religion.* for we have lost the Substance, and dwell too much in Opinion, and that Church which all the Jesuits Machinations could not Ruin, is fallen into Danger by her own.

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The last particular) for I am not willing to be too long) is my self: I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of *England* established by Law, in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die: This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion, established in *England*, and in that I come now to die. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of *High Treason* in Parliament, a Crime which my Soule ever abhorred; this Treason was charged to consist of these two parts, *An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land*, and a like *Endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion Established by Law*. Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protested my Innocency in both Houses. *It was said, Prisoners* Protections at the Barr must not be taken. I can bring no Witness of my Heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation not at the Bar, but my Protestation at this Hour and Instant of my Death; in which I hope all Men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the Truth of it. I do therefore in the presence of God, and his holy Angels, take it upon my Death, That I never endeavoured the Subversion either of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my Innocency, in these and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments. No, I understand them and the benefit that comes by them too well to be so. But I did dislike the misgovernment of some Parliaments many ways, and I had good Reason for it. For *Corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no corruption in the World so bad, as that which is of the best thing in it self; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest Court, over which no other have Jurisdiction, when 'tis misinformed or misgoverned, the Subject is left without all Remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of those bitter Enemies which have persecuted

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me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to joyn in Prayer with me.

The Archbishop's Prayer upon the Scaffold.

O Eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fullness of all thy mercies look upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thy honour, the King's happiness, and this Churches preservation. And my Zeal to these (far from arrogance be it spoken) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say in this particular of Treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great, Lord pardon them all, and those especially (what ever they are) which have drawn down this present Judgment upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me, Amen. And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable Kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for my self) O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people; but if they will not repent, O Lord confound all their Devices, defeat and frustrate all their Designs and Endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Establishment of the King and His Posterity after Him in their just Rights and Privileges, the Honour and Conversation of Parliaments in their just Power, the Preservation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace and Patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this

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in meer mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with Religious dutiful obedience to thee and thy Commandments all their days: So Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen, and receive my Soul into thy Bosom, Amen.

Our Father which art, &c.

The Speech and Prayers being ended, he gave the Paper which he read, unto Dr. *Sterne*, desiring him to shew it to his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this World, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them, And noting how one *Hind* had employ'd himself in taking a Copy of his *Speech* as it came from his mouth; he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. Which as *Hind* promised him to be careful of, calling for punishment from above if he should do otherwise; so hath he reasonably well perform'd his Promise; the Alterations or Additions which occur therein, being perhaps the Work of those who perus'd his Papers, and were to Authorize them to the publick view, to fit it more to the Palate of the City Faction, and make it more consistent with the credit of those guilty men, who had voted to his Condemnation. This done, he next applied himself to the fatal Block, as to the Haven of his Rest. But finding the way full of people; who had placed themselves upon the Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired he might have Room to die, beseeching them to let him have an end of his miseries, which he had endured very long. All which he did with so serene and calm a mind, as if he had been rather taking order for another mans funeral, than making way unto his own. Being come near the Block, he put off his doublet, and used some Words to this effect. *God's will be done, I am willing to go out of this world, no man can be more willing to send me out of it.* And seeing thro' the chinks of the boards that some people were got under the Scaffold, about the very place where the Block was seated, he called on the Officers for some dust to stop them, or to move the people thence, saying it was no part of his desires, that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity. And thus far he was gone in his way towards Pe-

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radise with such a Primitive Magnanimity, as equalled, if not exceeded the Example of ancient Martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet Passage by one Sir *John Clotworthy*, a Fire-brand brought from *Ireland* by the Earl of *Warwick* to increase the Combustions in this Kingdom. Who finding that the *Mockings* and *Revilings* of malicious People had no Power to move him, or sharpen him into any Discontent or shew of Passion; would needs put in, and try what he could do with his *Spunge and Vineger*, and stepping to him near the Block, asked him, (with such a purpose as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* used to propose Questions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learn by him but to Tempt him. or to expose him to some Disadvantage with the *Standers by*, what was the comfortablest saying which a dying Man could have in his Mouth. To which he meekly made this Answer, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*; i. e. *I desire to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ*. Being asked again what was the fittest Speech a Man could use, to express his Confidence and Assurance; he answered with the same Spirit and Meekness, that such Assurance was to be found within, and that no Words were able to express it rightly. Which when it would not satisfie the troublesome and impertinent Man (who aimed at something else than such Satisfaction) unless he gave some Word, or Place of Scripture, whereupon such assurance might be truly founded; he used some words to this effect, that it was the Word of God concerning Christ, and his dying for us. And so without expecting any further Questions (for he perceived by the manner of Sir *John's* Proceedings, that there would be no end of his Interruptions, if he hearkened any longer to him) he turned towards his Executioner (the gentler and discreeter Man of the two) and gave him Money, saying, without the least Distemper or change of Countenance, *Here, honest Friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me with mercy*, and having given a Sign when the Blow should come, he kneeled down upon his Knees, and Prayed as followeth.

The Lord Archbishop's Prayer, as he kneeled by the Block.

Lord, I am coming as fast I can, I know I must pass through the Shadow of Death, before I can come to see thee. But it is but umbra mortis, a meer Shadow of Death, a little darkness upon Nature; but thou by thy Merits and Passion hast broke through the jaws of Death. So, Lord receive my Soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly Love and Charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian Blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's Sake, if it be thy Will.

Then laying his Head upon the Block, and praying silently to himself, he said aloud, Lord receive my Soul, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dextrously did his Office, and took it off at a blow: his Soul ascending on the Wings of Angels into Abraham Bosom, and leaving his Body on the Scaffold, to the care of Men, A spectacle so unpleasing unto most of those who had desired his Death with much Heat and Passion, that many who came with greedy Eyes to see him suffer, went back with weeping Eyes when they saw him dead; their Consciences perhaps bearing Witnesses to them, as you know whose did, that they had sinned in being guilty of such innocent blood. Of those, whom only curiosity, and desire of Novelty brought thither to behold that unusual sight, many had not the patience to attend the issue, but went away as soon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Resolutions towards the King and the Church, whose Honour and religious Purposes they saw so clearly vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the rest (the most considerable, though perhaps the smallest part of that great Assembly) as they came thither with no other Intention, than to assist him with their Prayers, to embalm his body with their Tears, and to lay up his dying Speeches in their Hearts and Memories: so when they had performed those Offices of Christian Duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as his Life was Honourable, so his Death was Glorious, the Pains whereof were short and momentary to him.

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himself, the benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were resolv'd to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England*.

It was observ'd, that whereas other men when they come to the *Block*, use to look pale and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the blow, he on the contrary seem'd more fresh and chearful, than he had done any part of the day before; a clear and gallant Spirit being like the Sun, which shews greatest always at the setting. And as the Scripture tells us of St. Stephen the *Proto-Martyr*, that whilst he spake his last Oration before the *Chief Priests* and *Elders* of the *Jews*, they of the *Council* looking stedfastly upon him, saw his face as it had been the face of an Angel: so was it generally observ'd, not without astonishment, that all the while our *Martyr* prayed upon the *Block*, the Sun which had not shewn it self all the day till then, did shine directly on his face, which made him look most comfortably (that I say not gloriously) but presently as soon as the Blow was given, withdrew behind a cloud again, and appeared no more. And if the bodies of us men be capable of any happiness in the grave, he had a great share therein, as he could desire, or any of his Friends expect; his body being accompanied to the Earth with great multitudes of people, whom love, or curiosity, or remorse of conscience had drawn together, purposely to perform that office, and decently interred in the Church of *Allhallows Barking* (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. In which it may be noted, as a thing remarkable, that being whilst he lived the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, here by Law established, he had the honour being dead, to be buried in the form therein prescrib'd, after it had been long disused, and reprobated in most Churches of *London*. Nor need posterity take care to provide his *Monument*. He built one for himself whilst he was alive; it being well observ'd by Sir Edward Dering (one of his most malicious enemies, and he who threw the first stone at him, in the beginning of this Parliament) that St. Paul's of Speeches. Church will be his perpetual Monument, and his own Book (against the *Jesuit*) his lasting Epitaph.

Thus

An Elegy on the Bishop of Canterbury. 75

Thus died this most Reverend, Renowned, and Religious Prelate ; when he had lived 78 years, 13 weeks, 4 days, if at the least he may be properly said to die, the great Example of whose Virtue shall continue always, not only in the Minds of Men, but in the Annals of succeeding Ages, with Renown and Fame. But how he lived, what excellent parts he was compos'd of, and how industriously he employ'd those parts, for the Advancement of God's honour, his Sovereigns Power and Safety, and the Churches Peace, will be a work becoming a more able Pen ; unto whose care and diligence I commend the same. And so I leave him to that Comfort which the *Psalmist* gives him, and 'tis the greatest Comfort can befall those Men, which have been tortured on the Rack of malicious Tongues, *viz. The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, and shall not be afraid of any evil Report.* Psal. 112 v. 6, 7.

Horat. Carm. l. 4. Ode. 8.

Dignum Laude Virum Musa vetat mori.

AND yet not leave thee thus, I fain would try
A line or two in way of *Elegie* ;
And wail so sad a Loss, if to express
The greatness of it would not make it less :
If to lament thee might not vex thee more,
Than all the Scorns thou hast endur'd before ;
And make thee think we envied thee thy start,
Or doubted that thou wer't not what thou art.
Yet, with thy leave, I needs must drop a Verse,
Write it with Tears, and fit it for thy Herse ;
And at this distance from thy Grave, which lacks
The Poms of Sorrow, hang my heart with Blacks.

Religious Prelate, what a Calm hast thou
I'th midst of all those turbulent storms, which now
Shipwrack this Island ? At how cheap a rate
Hast thou procur'd this change of thy Estate ?
The *Mire* for a *Crown*, a few poor days
For endless Bliss, vile Earth for heavenly Joys !

Such

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Such Glories hast thou found, such alteration,
In this thy highest, as thy last *Translation*.
How were thine Enemies deceiv'd, when they
Advanc'd thee thus, and chalk'd thee out the way;
A way so welcome to thee! No *Divine*
But knows the *Red Sea* leads to *Palestine*;
And that since J E S U S sanctified the *Cross*,
Death's the best Purchase, Life the greatest Loss.

Nor be thou griev'd, blest Soul, that Men do still
Pursue thee with black Slanders, and do kill
Thy Shadow now, and trample on thy Ghost,
(As *Hector's* Carcass by the *Grecian* Host;)
Or that thou want'st *Inscriptions* and a Stone
T'ingrave thy Name, and write thy Titles on.
Thou art above those Trifles: and shalt stand
As much above Men's Malice. Though the Hand
Of base detraction Practice to defame
Thy spotless Vertues, yet impartial Fame
Shall do thee all just Honours, and set forth
To all succeeding Times thy matchless Worth.
No Annals shall be writ, but what relate
Thy happy Influence both on Church and State;
Thy Zeal to publick Order, thy great Parts
For all Affairs of Weight, thy Love to Arts;
And to our Shame and his great Glory, tell
For whose dear Sake, by whose vile Hands he fell.
(A Death so full of Merits, of such Price,
To God and Man so sweet a Sacrifice;
As by good Church-law may his Name prefer
To a fixt *Rubrick* in the Kalendar.
And let this Silence the pure Seat's Complaint,
If they make *Martyrs*, we may make a Saint.)

Or should Men envy thee this Right; thy praise
An *Obelisk* unto it self can raise.

Thy brave Attempt on *Pauls* in time to come
Shall be a Monument beyond a Tomb.
Thy *Book* shall be thy *Statue*, where we find
The Image of thy nobler Part, thy mind.
Thy Name shall be thine *Epitaph*: and he
Which Hears or Reads of that shall publish thee
Above the reach of *Titles*, and shall say
None could express thy Worth's a braver way.

And

And thus though murder'd, thou shalt never die,
But live renown'd to all Posterity.

Rest thou then happy in sweets of Bliss,
Th' *Elyzian* Fields, the Christians *Paradise*;
Exempt from worldly Cares, secure from Fears,
Though we do Mourn, and dew thy Hearse with Tears.

Ad Regem C A R O L U M.

*Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nalli flebilior, quam tibi, C A R O L E*

Horat. Carm: l. i. Ode 24.

The Several Speeches of Duke *Hamilton*,
the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*,
immediately before their Execution up-
on the Scaffold in the Palace-yard *West-*
minster, on Friday, March 9. 1649.

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of Cambridge, his Speech
on the Scaffold, March 9. 1649.

U Pon Friday the Ninth of this Instant, being the Day
appointed for the Execution of the Sentence of Death
upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord
Capell, about Ten of the Clock that Morning L. Col. *Beetner*
came with his Order to the several Prisoners at St. *James's*,
requiring them to come away; according to which Order
they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cor-*
ton's House at *Westminster*, where they continued about the
space of Two Hours, passing away most of that time in re-
ligious and seasonable Conferences with the Ministers, there
present with them. After which, being call'd away to the
Scaffold, it was desired, that before they went they might
have

have the opportunity of commending their Souls to God by Prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was desired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn Affections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hearty Thanks returned by them to the Ministers who performed, as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of Trouble; the Earl of *Cambridge* prepared first to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual Embraces, and some short ejaculatory Expressions, to and for his Fellow-Sufferers, he took his Leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad Condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the *New Palace-yard* at *Westminster*, over against the Great Hall-gate, in the sight of the place where the High Court of Justice formerly sat (the Hall-doors being open) there was his Excellency's Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disber* and several Companies of Col. *Hewson's* and Col. *Pride's* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the place: When the Earl came from *Westminster-Hall* near the Scaffold, he was met by the Undersheriff of *Middlesex* and a Guard of his Men, who took the Charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecker* and the Partizans that were his Guard; The Sheriff of *London* being also, according to Command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution perform'd.

Duke *Hamilton* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his Servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth.

Duke. Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. Sibbald. As your Lordship pleases.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the Fashion, I may ask you Sir; Do those Gentlemen expect I should say any thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

D. There is something in it. He was with me in the House.

Dr. Sibb. I suppose he would give no Interruption to your Lordship, at this time, were there not something of Concernment in it.

Duke

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful Servant to the State, and he was in great Esteem and Reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a Servant of mine to send something to me.

Sibb. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while you have a return from him. My Lord, you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free Mercy of God in Christ for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our Sins, even the Sins of the deepest die: The Blood of Jesus Christ washes away all our Sins, and that Blood of Christ is poured forth upon all such as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life: That is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix your self in the free Mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose Mercies are from everlasting to everlasting, unto all such as with the eye of Faith behold him; Behold Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Salvation, who hath satisfied the Justice of God by that All-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offer'd upon the Cross for the Sins of the whole World, so that the Sting of Death is taken away from all Believers, and he that sanctified it as a Passage to everlasting Blessedness: It is true, the Waters of *Jordan* run somewhat rough and surly betwixt the Wilderness and our passage into *Canaan*, but let us rest upon the Ark (my Lord) the Ark Christ Jesus, that will carry us through and above all those Waves to that rock of Ages, which no *Flood* nor *Waves* can reach unto, and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever, against whom the Powers and Principalities, the gates of Hell shall never be able to prevail; Lift up and fasten your eyes now upon Christ crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your Soul, when it shall be separated from this frail and mortal Body: Alas, no man would desire Life, if he knew *beforehand* what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and discontent that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private; in every station and

and calling there are several Miseries and Troubles that are inseparable from them ; therefore what a blessed thing is it to have a speedy and comfortable Passage out of this raging Sea into the Port of everlasting Happiness ! We must pass through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Christ's Blood, in which never Soul suffered Shipwrack, in which we must be blown with Winds and Tempests, but they are the Gales of God's Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary Winds of diffidence in his Mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his Servant was coming, he answered, So Sir ; And turning to the under-Sheriff's Son, said,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here ?

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbigh's* sending to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriff will not grudge your Lordship a few Minutes time, when so great a Work as this is at Hand.

His Lordship's Servant being returned, and having delivered his Message to the Earl of Cambridge privately, he said ; So, it is done now : and then turning the front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the rest of the Places) there was a great concourse of People, he said ;

Duke. I think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much, there are many Gentlemen and Soldiers there that see me, but my Voice truly is so weak, so low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time so much in love with speaking, or with any thing I had to Express, that I took delight in it ; yet this being the last time that I am to do so, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this End justly for my Sins ; I shall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to suffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England* : Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference ; I never intended either the generality of its Prejudice, or any particular Mans in it ; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whose Commands I could not disobey, without running

running into the same hazard there of that Condition that I am now in: The ends, Sir, of that Engagement are publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not need to specify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordships face, as you speak

Duke. No Sir, it will not burn it. I hope I shall see a brighter Sun than this, Sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousness, my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was saying, Sir,) It pleased God so to dispose that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General clothed with a Commission, stand here now ready to die; I shall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I said in my own Defence at the Court of JUSTICE, my self being satisfied with the Commands that are laid upon me, and they satisfied with the Justness of their Procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is just, and howsoever I shall not say any thing as to the matter of the Sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deserve even a worldly Punishment, as well as hereafter; for we are all sinful, Sir, and I a great one: yet for my Comfort, I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer sits at his right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breast) is Mediating for me at this instant; I am hopeful thro' his free Grace, and all-sufficient Merits, to be pardoned of my Sins, and to be received into his Mercy; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ: I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, since my Infancy, it has been such as hath been profess'd in the Land, and established; and now it is not this Religion or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of Men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that is right, one that's sure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free Grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly something, that (* had I thought my Speech *Observing would have been thus taken) I would have the Writers. digested it into some better Method than now I can, and shall desire these Gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not

in this manner be published to my disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here.

There are, Sirs, terrible Aspersions have been laid upon my self, truly such as I thank God I am very free from; as if my actions and intentions had not been such as they were pretended for; but that notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing less intended than to serve him in it. I was bred with him for many years, I was his Domestick Servant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventur'd my Life one way, and now I lose it another way; and that was one of the ends, as to the King I speak only of that, because the rest has many particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an Aspercion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other design known to me by the incoming of the Army, than what is really in the Declaration published. His Person I do profess I had reason to love, as he was my King, and as he had been my Master, it has pleased God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought flattery to have said this, or any end in me for the saying of it, but to free my self from that Calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it, yet Truth is that which we shall gain by for ever.

There hath been much spoken, Sir, of an Invitation into this Kingdom: it's mentioned in that *Declaration*; and truly to that I did and do remit my self: And I have been very much laboured for discoveries of these Inviters, 'tis no time to dissemble. How willing I was to have served this Nation in any thing that was in my Power, is known to very many honest, pious and religious men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have served them, if it had pleased them to have preserved my life, in whose hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and so I am become unuseful in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at first, Sir, so I say now concerning that point; I wish the Kingdoms happiness, I wish it peace, and truly, Sir, I wish that this blood of mine may be the last that is drawn: and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctancy with my self, as to the matter of my fact, for my suffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave; His Will be done that has created both Hea-

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ven and Earth, and me a poor miserable sinful Creature now speaking before him. For me to speak (Sir) to you of State-business, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own Inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many that I never was an ill Instrument betwixt the King and his People: I never acted to the Prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my Prayers to God Almighty for the happiness of the King; and truly I shall pray still that God may so direct him, as that may be done which shall tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

Dr. Sibbald. Your Lordship has not so fully said it.

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did say something.

Dr. Sibbald. I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.

*Duke. Truly Sir, for the profession of my Religion, that which I said was the established Religion, and that which I have practised in my own Kingdom where I was born and bred; my Tenents they need not to be exprest, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid Opinion, many godly Men there are that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (not any man's) my own is clear. Sir, the Lord forgive me my Sins, and I forgive freely all those that even I might (as worldly Man) have the greatest Animosity against; We are bidden to forgive. Sir, 'Tis a Command laid upon us (and there mentioned) *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us.**

Dr. Sibbald. 'Tis our Saviour's Rule, Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, Do good to them that despihtfully use you.

Duke. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this; and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done

Then kneeling down with Dr. Sibbald, he prayed thus;

Most Blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy Servant come unto thee, presuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the Throne; I come flying from that of Justice to that of Mercy and Tenderness, for his sake which shed his Blood for Sinners, that he would take Compassion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciously hears me, that he would look upon me as one that hath redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath shed his Blood for me, that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be saved by his All-sufficient Merits. For his sake (glorious God) have compassion upon me in the freeness of thy infinite Mercy, that when this sinful Soul of mine shall depart out of this frail carcass of clay, I may be carried into thy everlasting Glory; O Lord, by thy free grace, and out of thy infinite mercy hear me, and look down, and have compassion upon me, and thou Lord Jesus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my redeemer, hear me, take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God, and so deal with my Soul, that by thy precious merits I may attain to thy joy and bliss; O Lord, remember me, so miserable and sinful a creature; now thou, O Lord, thou, O Lord, that diedst for me, receive me, and receive me, into thine own bound of Mercy; O Lord, I trust in thee, suffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long Possession of this Soul, O let him not now prevail against it, but let me (O Lord) from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy time to hear me, hear me gracious Jesus, even for thy own Goodness, Mercy and Truth; O glorious God, O Blessed Father, O Holy redeemer, O gracious Comforter, O holy and blessed Trinity, I do render up my Soul into thy hands, and commit it with the Mediation of my Redeemer, praising thee for all thy Dispensations that it has pleased thee to confer upon me, and even for this, Praise and Honour, and Thanks, from this time forth for evermore.

Dr. Sibbald, My Lord, I trust you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Son of righteousness shining upon your Soul, and will cheerfully submit unto him who hath redeemed us thro' his Blood, even the Blood of Jesus Christ: that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, cloth'd with the white Robe of his unspotted righteousness; the Lord grant that with the Eye of Faith you may now see the Heavens opened, and Jesus Christ stand-
ing

ing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.

Duke. Then the Duke turning to the Executioner, said, Shall I put on another Cap? Must this Hair be turn'd up from my Neck? There are three of my Servants to give Satisfaction.

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you Satisfaction, you are assured that God is reconciled unto you through the Blood of Christ Jesus, and the Spirit of the Lord witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My Lord, fasten the Eyes of your Faith upon Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Salvation; who himself was brought to a violent Death for the Redemption of Mankind; he cheerfully submitted to his Father's good Pleasure in it, and for us: Blessed and holy is he that hath part (my Lord) in the first Resurrection, that is, in the first Riser Jesus Christ, who is both the Resurrection and the Life; over him the second Death shall have no Power: 'Tis the unspeakable Joy of a Believer, that at the Hour of Death his Soul hath an immediate Passage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endless Glory, yea, to the presence of God himself, in whose presence is fullness of Joy, and at whose Right Hand there are Pleasures for Evermore.

Then the Duke turning to the Executioner, said, Which way is it that you would have me lie, Sir?

Execut. The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replied, What, my Head this way? Then the Undersheriffs Son said, My Lord, the Order is, that you should lay your Head towards the High Court of Justice.

The Duke, after a little Discourse in private with some of his Servants, kneeled down on the side of the Scaffold, and Prayed a while to himself.

When he had finish'd his Prayer, *Dr. Sibbald* spake to him thus:

My Lord, I humbly beseech God that you may now with an holy and christian Courage give up your Soul to the Hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer, and not be dismayed with any sad apprehension of the terrors of this Death; and what a blessed and glorious Exchange you shall make with-in a very few Minutes.

Then with a chearful and smiling Countenance, the Earl embracing the Doctor in his Arms, said,

Duke. Truly, Sir, I do take you in mine Arms : and truly I bless God for it, I do not fear, I have an Assurance that is grounded here (laying his Hand upon his Heart) now that gives me more true Joy than ever I had, I pass out of a miserable World to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdom ; and, Sir, tho' I have been a most sinful Creature, yet God's Mercy I know is infinite, and I bless my God for it, I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the Man that I have personally injured.

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, *It is a marvellous great Satisfaction that at this last hour you can say so ; I beseech the Lord for his eternal Mercy strengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Arms of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your Soul.*

Then the Earl of Cambridge embracing those his Servants which were there present, said to each of them, You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bless you!

Duke. Then turning to the Executioner, said, I shall say a very short Prayer to my God, while I lie down there ; and when I stretch out my hand (my right hand) then, Sir, do your Duty ; and I do freely forgive you, and so I do all the World.

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord in great Mercy go along with you, and bring you to the Possession of everlasting Life, strengthening your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is a passage, my Lord, a short passage unto eternal glory. I hope, thro' the free Grace of your gracious God, you are now able to say, O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory? And to make this comfortable Answer, Blessed be God, blessed be God who hath given me an Assurance of Victory thro' Christ Jesus.*

Then the Earl of Cambridge said to the Executioner, Must I lie along ?

Execut. Yes, and't please your Lordship.

Duke. When I stretch out my hands --- but I will fit my head first, tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut. Your Shirt must be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your Shoulders, (*which was done accordingly.*)

Dr. Sib.

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, Now, now lift up your Eyes unto Jesus Christ, and cast your self now into the everlasting Arms of your gracious Redeemer.

Then the Earl having laid his Head over the Block, said, Is this right ?

Dr. Sibbald. Jesus the Son of David have mercy upon you.

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Duke. Well, Stay then till I give you the Sign.

And so having lain a short space devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body, which was receiv'd by two of his Servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffaty Scarf, and that with the Body immediately put into a Coffin, brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose, and from thence convey'd to the House that was Sir John Hamilton's at the Mews.

This Execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of Holland, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and Westminster-Hall, and the Under-Sheriffs Son having received him into his Charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking Mr. Bolton all the way in his hand, passed all along to the Scaffold discoursing together; upon which being come, observing his Voice would not reach to the People, in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold, he said;

Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Holland, his Speech
on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death,
March 9. 1649.

IT is to no purpose (I think) to speak any thing here. Which way must I speak? And then being directed to the Front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rails) said; I think it is fit to say something, since God hath call'd me to this place. The first thing which I must profess, is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to the true Protestant Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the

which I have lived, and in the which by God's grace and mercy I shall die. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place, for the Sins that I have committed. The cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdom; Truly I look upon it as a Judgment, and a just Judgment of God: not but I have offended so much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have no extream vanity in serving them very extraordinarily. For those Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever exprest truly and clearly to them. The dispositions of Affairs now have put things in another posture than they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those principles that ever I have profess'd; I have lived in them, and by God's grace will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them farther than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left them; But there hath been nothing that I have said, or done, or profess'd, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gone upon; which was to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdom: That made me think it no proper time, being press'd out by Accidents and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King; that was the farthest aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And God be praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a drop of blood shed in that Action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs, as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them; and therefore I must make use of Prayers, rather than of my Opinion;

nion; which are, That God would bless this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary; I look upon the Posterity of the King, and truly my Conscience directs me to it, to desire, that if God be pleased, these People may look upon them with that Affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through blood, nor through disorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their birth intended to them. I shall pray with all my soul for the happiness of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here spilt may even be the last that may fall among us; and truly I should lay down my life with as much cheerfulness as ever Person did, if I conceived that there would be no more Blood follow us; for a State or Affairs that are built upon Blood, is a Foundation for the most part that doth not prosper.

After the Blessing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, I do wish with all my heart, happiness and a blessing to all those that have been Authors in this Business; and truly, that have been Authors in this very Work that brings us hither: I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my sins, so I desire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and truly I must here, since it is the last of my prayers, pray to God that that University may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery to plant those Persons that may be distributed to the Kingdom, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindness, and their affections that I have found from them. * I have said

what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practised, I began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my Actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding.

* Looking
towards
Mr. Bolton.

I have
told

told you likewise that the Family where I was bred, hath been an Exemplary Family (I may say so, I hope, without Vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulness to this Kingdom and to this State. I have endeavoured to do those Actions that became an honest Man, and a good Englishman, and which became a good Christian: I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have been in Persecution, and truly I find a great Reward of it; for I have found their Prayers and their kindness now in this Distress, and in this Condition, and I think it a great Reward, I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great Sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my Prayers, to give me faith to trust in him, that as he hath called me to Death at this Place, he will make it but a Passage to an eternal Life thro' Jesus Christ, which I trust to; which I rely upon, and which I expect by the Mercy of God. And so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last Execution, and the last Blood that is likely to be spilt among you. And then turning to the Side-rayl, he prayed for a good space of time; after which Mr. Bolton said:

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have trusted. My Lord, I hope that here is your last prayer, there will no more prayers remain but praises; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a Day begin that will never have End; and I look upon this (my Lord) the Morning of it, the morning of that Day. My Lord, you know where your fulness lies, where your riches lie, where is your only Rock to anchor on; you know there is fulness in Christ: If the Lord come not with Fulness of Comfort to you, yet resolve to wait upon him while you live, and to trust in him when you die; and then say, I will die here, I will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly, he that came to seek and save lost Sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not sleight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your Eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope; exercise these Graces now, there will be no exercise hereafter. As your Lordship said, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a farewell of Repentance, and all these; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all Eternity; and so it will be

an happy passage then, if it be a passage here from misery to happiness. And though it be but a sad way, yet if it will bring you into the presence of joy, altho' it be a valley of tears, altho' it be a shadow of death, yet if God will please to bring you, and make it a passage to that happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taste some sweetness and love in this bitter Potion, and to shew something of mercy and goodness to you, and shew you some sign and token of good, so that your soul may see that which we have had already experience of (blessed be God for it) many experiences, many expressions not only in words, but tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) you that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope you want none your self, but that the Lord will be pleased to support you, and bear up your Spirit, and if there wants evidence, there is reliance, my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but in my resting and relying upon him; when the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossings, but there is safety; nothing shall interrupt safety, altho' something may interrupt security; my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not; and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixedness in him. And the Lord of heaven be the strength, stay and support of your Soul, and the Lord furnish you with all those graces which may carry you into the bosom of the Lord Jesus, that when you expire this life, you may be able to expire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all Eternity; and that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. Mr. Bolton, God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune, he hath at last brought me down into a condition, where I find my self brought to an end, for a disaffection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that cause; I look upon it as a great judgment of God for my sins. And truly, Sir, since that the death is violent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my Saviour, that hath shewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cause,

I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long since the King my Master passed in the same manner, and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions were such as a Man may not be ashamed, not only to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had given him life. I have often disputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his sufferings, and his better knowledge, and better understanding (if God had spared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himself, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have seen and known that those blessed Souls in heaven have passed thither by the gate of sorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and since it is God's pleasure to dispose me this way, I submit my Soul to him, with all comfort and with all hope, that he hath made this my End, and this my Conclusion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheless this lowness shall raise me to the highest glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the People, concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were something of vanity (methinks) to take notice of them here: I'll rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own Bosom, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice, or blood-shed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some liberties they have conceived then to be taken; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom; I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tied so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto, is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that

that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truly I understand it not to be so) I understand in to be a glory ; a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the Kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul ; I have no reliance but upon Christ ; for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners ; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the iniquities that I have committed in the way of my life, I look upon this as a great Justice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Punishment ; And those Hands that have been most active in it, if any such there have been, I pray God forgive them ; I pray God that there may not be many such Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I said before) the last Shew, that this People shall see, of the Blood of Persons of Condition, of Persons of Honour : I might say something of the Way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been seen in this Kingdom ; but because that I would not seem as if I made some complaint, I will not so much as mention it, because no body shall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my fortune ; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall ; I take it entirely from him, I submit my self to him, I shall desire to roul my self into the Arms of my blessed Saviour ;

and when I come to this * place, when I * *Pointing to*
bow down my self there: I hope God will *the Block.*
raise me up ; and when I bid farewell, as

I must now, to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide, I know nothing to accompany the soul out of this world, but Love ; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jesus Christ*, in whom I believe ; O Lord help my Unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto you the righteousness of his

his own Son, it is that Treasury that he hath bestowed upon You; and the Lord shew you the Light of his Countenance, and fill you full with his joy and kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with you, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring you to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much haste as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; I look upon my self entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for Uncleaness, my soul must receive it; for did I rest in any thing else, I have nothing but sin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which instead of being carried up into the Arms of God and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

Bolton. But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in your self: The Apostle saith, I desire not to be found in my own righteousness; and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I shall say but this much; Doubt not that ever God will deny Salvation to sinners that come to him, when the end of all his death and sufferings was the salvation of sinners, when as I say the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work that God had to do in the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his Counsels, and infinite Wisdom, and Mercy, and Goodness, beyond which there was a Non ultra in Gods Thoughts, when this was the great Design, and great End, the Salvation of poor Sinners, that poor Souls should come over to him and live; certainly when Sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse. And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greatest work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain else: You see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and should he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody Agony, when he was in that bloody Sweat, sweating drops of Blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing? Art thou

thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together? Art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? Art thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul? Would he not have said, yea? And surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher Place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my Lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be; but when I have said all, the more I advance that Riches, and honour that Grace of God. And why should I doubt, when by this he puts me into a Capacity, into a Disposition for him to shew me Mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his Grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his Grace: And this is certain, the riches of his Grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his Grace might be given to himself; if we can give him but the glory of his Grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, my Lord, that fulness be your comfort, that fulness of mercy, that fulness of love, that fulness of righteousness and power be now your riches, and your only stay, and the Lord interpose himself between God and you, as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul; so I doubt not there he stands (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, and trust in him when you die, there is riches enough and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his door, Say there I'll die, there is mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy; into his arms I commend my spirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that must lie upon this place, he will receive that Soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternal mercy, through the merits, through the worthiness,

thiness, through the Mediation of Christ that hath purchased it with his own most precious Blood.

Bolton. *My Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodness of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the rise of glory, if God pleaseth to throw you down here, to raise you up for ever, say Welcome Lord, welcome that Death that shall make way for life, and welcome any condition that shall throw me down here, to bring me into the possession of Jesus Christ.*

Hodges. *My Lord, if you have made a Deed of Gift of your self to Jesus Christ, to be found only in him; I am confident you shall stand at the day of Christ; my dear Lord, we shall meet in happiness.*

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my Soul; my Soul hungers and thirsts after him, Clouds are gathering, and I trust in God through all my heaviness, and I hope through all impediments, he will settle my interest in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my Soul in despite of all the calumnies, and all that the Devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the blessedness of his presence to all Eternity.

Hodges. *My Lord, it was his own by Creation, it is his own now by Redemption and Purchase; and it is likewise his own by resignation: O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God that sits at the right hand of God to take away the sins of the world; O that Lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my Soul; and that Lamb of God that sits upon the Throne to judge those 24 that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trusts upon his Mercy, for his compassion; and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord, think of this, There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? It is Christ that justifies: And therefore look now upon this, (my Lord) upon this Christ, upon this Christ that justifies: Hell, Death, Sin, Satan; nothing shall be able to condemn, it is Christ that justifies you.*

Holland,

Holland. Indeed if Christ justify, nobody can condemn, and I trust in God, in his justification; though there is a confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and staring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my Soul.

Bolton. I doubt not, my Lord, but as you are a Spectacle of pity here, so you are an Object of God's mercy above.

Holland. Then the Earl of Holland looking over among the people, pointing to a Soldier, said, This honest man took me a prisoner, you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I deliver'd my self to you upon conditions; and espying Captain *Wulson* on Horse-back, putting off his hat, said to him, God be with you, Sir, God reward you, Sir.

Bolton. My Lord, throw your self into the arms of mercy, and say, there I will Anchor, and there I will Die, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither should we go? He bath the words of eternal life: and upon him do you rest, wait while you live, and even trust in death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my Anchor, and but in Storms no body trusts to his Anchor; and therefore I must trust upon my Anchor (*upon that God*, said Mr. Bolton, *upon whom your Anchor trusts*) yea God, I hope, will Anchor my Soul fast upon Christ Jesus, and if I die not with that clearness and that heartiness that you speak of, truly I will trust in God, though he kill me, I will relie upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt; they shall never go begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of Holland speaking to Mr. Hodges, said, I pray God reward you for all your kindness, and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they way serve God with faithfulness and holiness, with more diligence than truly I have been careful to press them unto: you have the charge of the same place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindness, and the goodness of your conscience.

Dr. Sibbald. Standing upon the Scaffold in his passage to Col. Beecher, expressed himself thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord lift up the light of his Countenance upon you, and you shall be safe.

98 *The Earl of Holland's Speech.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieutenant Col. *Beecher*, and took his leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, returned him many thanks for his great Pains and Affections to his Soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his Love into his Bosom. Mr. *Bolton* said to him, The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great Extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your Death the passage unto eternal Life----

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, Here, my Friend, let my Cloaths and my Body alone, there is Ten Pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloaths, I am sure of it.

Executioner. *Will your Lordship please to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And then his Lordship said, you have room enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, Yes.*

Bolton. The Lord be your Strength, there is Riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himself to you, he is able to save to the uttermost: We cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting Arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a support and stay to you in your low Condition, that he will be pleased to make this an Advantage to that Life and Glory that will make amends for all.

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my Head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one; Fare you well, thou art an honest Fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest Man: and then said, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God Forgiveness; and then Prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestness.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find Life in Death.

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they shewed him) and then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such Accident as may bring you to any such Death as is violent, either by War, or by these Accidents, but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that these Accidents that have happened to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom: it is that I desire, it is that I beg of God, next the saving of my Soul: I pray
God

God give all happiness to this Kingdom, to this People; and this Nation: and then turning to the Executioner, said, How must I lie? I know not.

Executioner. *Lie down flat upon your Belly: and then having laid himself down, he said, must I lie closer?*

Executioner. *Yes, and backward.*

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike; and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his Head, said, where is the Man? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said, stay while I give the Sign; and presently after stretching out his Hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, now, now, and just as the Words were coming out of his Mouth, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body.

Arthur Lord Capel his Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death, March 9. 1649.

The Execution of the Lord of Holland being thus performed, the Lord Capel was brought to the Scaffold as the former, and in the way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the People on both sides, looking very austere about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut. Col. Beecher said to him, Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving some of his Servants to weep, he said, Gentlemen, refrain your selves, refrain your selves; and turning to Lieut. Col. Beecher, he said, what? did the Lords speak with their Hats off, or no?

Col. Beecher. *With their Hats off: And then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he said, I shall hardly be understood here I think, and then began his speech as followeth.*

Capel. The conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the cause of this violent death of mine shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you: When I made an address to them (which was the last) I told them with much sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his inestimable and boundless mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly I still pray that prayer; and I beseech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my soul I wish it. And truly, this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian: But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, that I am a Protestant; and truly I am a Protestant, and very much in love with the profession of it, after the manner as it was established in *England* by the thirty nine Articles; a blessed way of profession, and such an one as truly I never knew any so good. I am so far from being a Papist, which some body have (truly) very unworthily at some time charged me withal, that truly I profess to you, that though I love good works and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of salvation; my Anchor-hold is this, *That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me*; this is that that I rest upon.

And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that consideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the world,, that is, the Law of the Sword. I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, because in another place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I used in that case; But truly that, that is stranger, you that are *Englishmen*, Behold here an *Englishman* before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *England*; and, shall I tell you more? (which is strangest of all) contrary to all the Laws of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and the Cause that I have maintain'd, I die (I take it) for maintaining the fifth Commandment, enjoined by God himself, which enjoins reverence and obedience to Parents. All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many several Opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do acknowledge,

acknowledge, that here is intended Magistracy and Order; and certainly I have obey'd that Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey; and truly, I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandment given by God himself, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity than his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concern'd in it may take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profess to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more precious blood, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it; truly, this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to God's glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torrent as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think, I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD, I am sure, hath pardon'd it, hath given me the assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his blood hath washed it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent and receive a remission and pardon from God for it. And now, Gentlemen, we have an occasion from this intimation to remember his Majesty our King that last was: and I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly I must needs say that in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of the greatest and virtuouslest Princes in the world; and truly in my opinion, there was not a more virtuous and more sufficient prince known in the world, than our gracious King CHA K L E S that died last: God Almighty preserve our King that now is, his Son; God send him more fortune and longer days; God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the virtues and sufficiencies of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Coun-

cellour to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily enough made, for he was young (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen or sixteen years of Age) those years I was with him, truly, I never saw greater hopes of virtue in any young person than in him; great judgment, great understanding, great apprehension, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect *Englishman* in his inclination; and I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one to another, and send a great happiness both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is consummated: I beseech God of his mercy give much happiness to this your King, to you that in it shall be his Subjects by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly I like my beginning so well, that I will make my conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable grace and mercy, to those that are the cause of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wish; and truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of malice, truly I will not, nay, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of Heaven bless you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodness and mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of obedience to his Commands, to his Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient People, God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner (who was gone off the Scaffold) said; which is the Gentleman? Which is the man? Answer was made, he is coming; He then said, stay, I must pull off my Dublet first, and my Waistcoat: And then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord Capel said, O friend! Pri thee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord Capel said, I forgive thee from my soul; and not only forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my

my cloathes, and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully recompenced ; but I desire my body may not be stripped here, and nobody to take notice of my body but my own servants. Look you, friend, this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me time for a particular short Prayer.

Lieu. Coll. Beecher, Make your own Sign, my Lord.

Capel. Stay a little ; Which side do you stand upon ? (speaking to the Executioner) stay, I think I should lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and answer being made, Yes ; he stood still a little while, and then said, God Almighty bless all this People, God Almighty franch this blood, God Almighty franch, franch, franch this issue of blood ; this will not do the business, God Almighty find out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his servants, said, *Baldwin*, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my wife ; but I must desire thee and beseech her to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ, to be contented and fully satisfied. And then speaking to his servants, he said, God keep you ; and Gentlemen, let me now do a Business quickly, privately, and pray let me have your Prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my soul.

Lieu. Col Beecher. I wish it.

Capel. Pray at the moment of striking, join your prayers, but make no noise (turning to his servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My Lord, put on your Cap.

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good ? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his Hair.*

And then turning to the Executioner, he said, honest man, I have forgiven thee, therefore strike boldly from my soul I do it.

Then a Gentleman speaking to him, he said, nay, pri^o-thee be contented, be quiet, good Mr.--- be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he said, Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not ? And stretching out his hands, he said, Then pray stand off Gentlemen. Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all join in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my soul, and that for his alone mercies in Christ Jesus. God Almighty keep you all. Exe-

Execut. *My Lord, shall I put up your hair?*

Capel. Ay, ay, pr'thee do; and then as he stood lifting up his hands and eyes, he said, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart submit to thy will: O God! I do most willingly humble my self. And then kneeling down, said, I will try first how I can lie, and laying his head over the block, said, Am I well now?

Execut. *Yes.*

And then as he lay with both his hands stretched out; he said to the Executioner, here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hands thus (*lifting up his right hand*) then you may strike.

And then after he had said a short prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner with one blow severed his head from his body, which was taken up by his servants, and put with his body into a Coffin, as the former.

The Speech of Col. John Morris, lately Governour of Pomfret Castle, at the place of his Execution at York, August 23. 1649.

When he was brought out of prison, looking upon the Sledge that was there set for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breast, he said, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my dublet to go to bed, I despise the shame as well as the Cross, I know I am going to a joyful place. With many the like expressions

When the Post met him about St. James's Church that was sent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprieve; and told him he could not prevail in it, he said, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope, and am well assured to find a better pardon than any they can give, my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of Execution, he made this profession of his faith, his breeding, his cause he had fought in.

Gentlemen, first I was bred up in the true Protestant Religion, having my education and breeding from that honoured house my dear Lord and Master the Earl of

Stafford.

Strafford, which place I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it, I much doubt, better than any will be after it; unless it please God to put a period to these distracted times. This Faith and Religion, I say, I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the least wavering, and now I am resolv'd by Gods assistance to die in.

Those pains are nothing, if compared to those dolours and pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour hath suffered for us; when in a bloody sweat he endured the wrath of God, the pain of Hell, and the cursed and shameful death which was due to our sins: therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous punishment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed Saints with Christ in Heaven. It is the Lord's affliction: and who would not take any affliction in good part, when it comes from the hand of God? And what shall we receive good from the hand of God, and not receive evil? And though I desire, as I am carnal, that this cup may part from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of sinning, and of all miseries due unto sin, so that after death there shall be no more sorrow, nor cry, nor pain, for God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes; by death our souls shall delivered from thralldom, and this corruptible body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.

Therefore blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a world, and freed from such a body of bondage and corruption; the Soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlasting bliss and glory, it takes us from the miseries of this world, and society of sinners, to the City of the living God, the celestial *Jerusalem*.

I bless God I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a cause; and if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the Cause of my King, the Lords Anointed; the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be subject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supream, or to those that are in authority under him; I have been always faithful to my Trust, and though I have been most basely accused for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witness it is a most false aspersion, for I was
then

then sick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Soldiers had done it without my consent, and then I was carried Prisoner to Sir John Meldrum; afterwards I came down into the Country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home, I was perswaded by Colonel Forbes, Coll. Overton, Lieut. Coll. Fairfax, whom I took for my good Friends, to march in their Troops; which I did, but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was. and so I did; and I pray God to turn the hearts of all the Soldiers to their lawful Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do; and though thou kill me, yet will I put my trust in Thee; wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me.

Then he took his Bible, and read divers Psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers Prayers, some publickly, and some privately, the publick was this which follows:

His Prayer.

Welcome, blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my Cares, the close of my sins, the bound of my Travels, the goal of my Race, and the haven of my Hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakness, I have finished my course, though in great faintness, and the Crown of my Joy is, That through the strength of thy Grace, I have both kept the true Faith, and have fought for my King, the Lord's Anointed's Cause without any wavering, for which, and in which I die; I do willingly resign my Flesh, I despise the World, and I defy the Devil, who hath no part nor share in me; And now what is my Hope? My Hope, Lord Jesus is even in thee, for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my Soul, and raise up my Body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my Flesh with these Eyes, and none other: And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit my self wholly to thy will, I commit my Soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who hast bought it with thy most precious Blood. I confess to all the World, I know no Name under Heaven by which I may be Saved, but thine, my Jesus, my Saviour; I renounce all confidence

dence in any merits save thine. I thankfully acknowledge all thy blessings, I unfeignedly bewail all my sins, I steadfastly believe all thy promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comforts, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.

The private were to himself, his Hat being before his Eyes; after this he put up divers short Ejaculations: As, I know my Redeemer liveth. Father into thy hands I commend my Spirit, for thou hast redeemed it, O God, thou God of Truth. Lord Jesus receive my Spirit, and many the like, and so he yielded to Death.

The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburn
immediately before his Death, Aug. 23.
1649. Executed the same day at York.

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of an honest Quality and Condition. I was brought up in the Protestant Religion, and in that Religion I have lived, and in that I now die. I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful Service, according to my Duty and the dictate of my Conscience; I have not done so much Service as I desired, but I have been always faithful to him, and wish I could have done him more; and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdom should have the boldness or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and hath as good right and title to it by his Birth-right; as any man living hath of his inheritance or possession: I pray God bless him, forgive all my Enemies, and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.

108 *The Marquess of Montros his Death.*

A perfect Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the most Loyal and Valiant Marquess of Montros, General of His Majesties Forces in the Kingdom of Scotland, who was Inhumanly executed at Edenburgh the Seventeenth of May, 1650, with the true Copy of his Speech immediately before his Execution.

THE Parliament of Scotland being informed that the Marquess of Montros was taken, and foreseeing that his countenance and carriage might gain him some favour amongst the People, thought fit to give out their sentence against him before he should come to *Edenburgh*. And therefore upon the 17 of May Anno 1650. in the morning, they appointed a Committee to prepare and give in their opinions what was fittest to be done with him, where the same fore-noon they gave in their report in writing to this effect : That so soon as he should come to the Town, he should be met at the Gate by the Magistrates, and Hangman ; That he should be tyed with cords upon a Cart bare headed, and the Hangman to ride upon the horse that drew the Cart, covered before him, and so to be brought through the Town. That he should be hanged on a Gibbet at the Cross of *Edenburgh* until he died, his History and Declaration hanging about his neck, and so hang three hours in publick view of all the people ; after which, he should be beheaded and quartered, his head to be fixt upon the Prison house of *Edenburgh*, and his legs and arms over the Gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *Perth*, alias *Saint John's-Town*, and *Aberdeen*. And in case he repented, (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication might be taken off by the Church) the bulk of his body should be buried in the *Gray-Fryars*,; if not to be buried in the *Borrow-moor*.

Upon the 18 day about four a clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the Water-gate, and according to the Sentence, was met by the Magistrates, the Guards, and the Hangman of the City, the rest of the Prisoners being ty'd

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two and two together, going bare-headed before him. So soon as he came within the gate, the Magistrates shewed him the Sentence, which when he had read, and perceived the Cart and the Hangman there ready, he said, *He would willingly obey, he was only sorry that through him, his Majesty whose person he presented, should be so dishonoured.* Then going cheerfully into the Cart, he being uncovered, was by the Hangman ty'd thereunto with ropes, and the Hangman on the horse rid covered; thus was he carried to the Prison, and in all the way, there appeared in him such a Majesty, Courage, and Modesty, no way daunted, that his very Enemies, nay common women, who as it was believed by divers, would have stoned him in the Cart as he passed, were upon the sight of him so astonished, and moved, that their intended curses were turn'd into tears and prayers for him; Insomuch as the next day (being Sunday) the Ministers preached against them for not reviling and stoning him as he passed along.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman Gold, telling him, *That was a reward for driving the Cart.* It was seven a clock at night before he was entered into the Prison, and immediately the Parliament met, and sent some of their Members, and some Ministers to examine him; but he refused to answer any thing unto them, until he was satisfied upon what terms they stood with the King, his Royal Master; which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceased proceeding against him till Monday, and allowed their Commissioners to tell him, that the King and they were agreed: He desired to be at rest, for he was weary with a long journey, and he said, *The Complement they had put upon him that day was somewhat tedious.*

The next day being Sunday, he was constantly attended by Ministers and Parliament men, who still pursued him with threatnings, but they got no advantage of him; he told them, *They thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, but they were much mistaken; For he thought it the most honourable and joyfulest journey that ever he made, God having all the while most comfortably manifested his presence to him, and furnishing him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose cause he suffered.*

Upon Monday in the forenoon, he was brought before
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the Parliament, and after the delivery of a long penned discourse by the Chancellour, wherein he was pleased to take notice of his miscarriages against the first Covenant, the League and Covenant, his invasion, and joyning with the Irish Rebels, and blood-guiltiness; and that now, how God had brought him to just punishment: He desired to know if he might be allowed to speak for himself, which being granted he said, *Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the King, I look upon you, as if his Majesty were sitting amongst you; and in that relation I appear with this reverence bare-headed; My care hath been always to walk as became a good Christian, and a loyal Subject; I engaged in the first Covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived some private Persons under colour of Religion intended to wring the Authority from the King, and to seize on it for themselves, and when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honest men, that a Bond should be subscrib'd, wherein the security of Religion was sufficiently provided for, I subscrib'd. For the League and Covenant I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it; but how far Religion hath been advanced by it, and the sad consequences that have followed on it, these poor distressed Kingdoms can witness: for when his late Majesty had by the blessing of God almost subdued those Enemies that rose against him in England, and that a faction of this Kingdom went in to the assistance of them, His Majesty gave Commission to me, to come into this Kingdom, and to make a diversion of those forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledg'd the command most just, and I conceiv'd my self bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this Country, many of you may bear witness: Disorders in any Army cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known, than punished; never was any blood spilt but in battle, and even then many thousand lives have I preserv'd; and as I came in upon His Majesty's Warrant, so upon His Letters did I lay aside all interest and retreated.*

And for my coming in at this time, it was by his Majesty's command, in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you; His Majesty knowing, that whenever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. I may justly say, that never Subject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power, than I did in this service; and therefore I desire you to lay aside all prejudice, and consider me as a Chri-

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lian in relation to the justice of the quarrel; as a Subject in relation to my Royal Master's commands; and as your Neighbour in relation to the many of your lives I have preserv'd in battel; and be not too rash, but let me be judged by the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature, and Nations, and the Laws of this Land; if you do otherwise, I do here appeal from you, to the righteous Judge of the world, who one day must be both your Judge and mine, and who always gives righteous Judgment.

This he deliver'd with such Gravity, and without Passion as was much admired even of his enemies. After which the Chancellor commanded the Sentence to be read, which he heard with a settled and unmov'd countenance, and desiring to be farther heard, was presently stop't by the Chancellor, who commanded he should be presently removed back again to prison; where being no sooner come, but the Ministers assault him afresh, aggravating the terror of the Sentence, thereby to fright him. He acknowledged himself much beholding to the Parliament for the Honour they put upon him, saying, *He took it for a greater honour to have his head stand upon the Prison Gate for this quarrel, than to have his picture in the King's Bed-chamber. And (lest his Loyalty should be forgotten) they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities, to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity; Wishing he had had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in Christendom, to witness his loyalty to his King and Country.*

His Friends were not suffered to come near him, but a guard was always in the Chamber with him, insomuch as he had neither time nor place for his private devotions, but in their hearing.

The next day being the 21. Cloathed in a Scarlet Cloak richly laced with gold Lace, he was brought to the Scaffold; He came along the Streets with so great State, and there appeared in his Countenance so much Beauty, Majesty and Gravity, as amaz'd the beholders; and many even of his Enemies did acknowledge him to be the gallantest Subject in the World; but because all his friends and well-wishers were debarr'd from coming near him, there was a boy design'd for that purpose on the Scaffold, who took his last Speech. which was to this effect.

I am sorry if this manner of my End be scandalous to any good Christian. Dost it not often happen to the righteous according

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cording to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice? They who know me, should not disesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind; yet I must not say, but that all God's Judgments are just; for my private sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I submit my self to him: But in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments, God forgive them, I forgive them, they have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and justice, but he that is higher than they will reward them.

What I did in this Kingdom, was in obedience to the most just command of my Sovereign, for his defence in the day of his distress, against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing but fear God and honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature, and Nations, and I have not sinned against man but against God, and with him there is Mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto him.

It is objected against me by many, (even good People) That I am under the Censure of the Church; This is not my fault since it is only for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's most just commands, for Religion, his sacred Person and Authority. Yet I am sorry they did Excommunicate me, and in that which is according to God's Laws, without wronging my Conscience, or Allegiance. I desire to be relaxed; if they will not do it, I appeal to God who is the righteous Judge of the world, and whom must, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour.

It is spoken of me, that I should blame the King, (God forbid) for the late King, he liv'd a Saint, and died a Martyr; I pray God, I may so end as he did; if ever I should wish my Soul in another man's stead, it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never people I believe might be more happy in a King; His Commands to me were most just: in nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all men, I pray he be so dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust, as His Father was.

I desire not to be mistaken, as if my Carriage at this time in relation to your ways were stubborn; I do but follow the light of my own Conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good Spirit of God that is within me, I thank him, I go to Heavens Throne with Joy. If he enable me against the fear

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fear of Death, and furnish me with courage and confidence to embrace it even in its most ugly shape. Let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out of my duty to God, and love to his People.

I have no more to say, but that I desire your Charity and Prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my good Will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conscience.

Being desired to pray apart, He said, I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord who knows my heart, and into whose hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciously pleased to return to me a full assurance, of peace in Jesus Christ my Redeemer, and therefore if you will not join with me in prayer, my reiterating again will be both Scandalous to you and me. So closing his eyes, and holding up his hands, he stood a good space at his inward devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while; When he had done, he called for the Executioner, and gave him money. Then having brought unto him (hanging in a cord) his Declaration. and History, he hauged them about his neck, saying, *Though it hath pleased His Sacred Majesty that now is, to make him one of the Knights of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himself more Honoured by the Garter, than by that cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his neck with as much joy and content, as ever he did the Garter or a chain of gold,* and therefore desired them to be tied to him as they pleased.

When this was done, and his arms tyed, he asked the Officers, *If they had any more Dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And so with an undaunted Courage and Gravity suffered, according to the Sentence past upon him.

The Speech of the truly Loyal Collonel William Sybbald on the Scaffold at the time of his Execution at Edinburgh, Jan. 7. 1650.

Gentlemen, I am brought this day to this place, to pay a debt to Nature before it be due; and by the malice and cruelty of my merciless enemies, I am sentenced to die as a Traytor to my Country, for endeavouring to do service for my King, on whose happinels and wel-fare does depend the wel-fare of these Kingdoms; and to whom I am bound both by the Law of God and Man to perform all faithful and loyal service: And as the cause for which I suffer proclaims my loyalty, so their Sentence does declare to all the world their disloyalty, and their intentions against the King.

Their self guiltiness makes cowardly spirits cruel: and such was their proceedings against me, as that I could not obtain an Advocate to plead for me, nor any man skillful in the Laws, either to advise with me, or to write my Defence, though they knew me to be ignorant of the Laws. Thus is my innocency and integrity betrayed, partly by their malice, and my own Ignorance.

The truth is, they did profer to do me any courtesy or favour, if I would make an ingenious confession; that is, accuse some Noblemen and Gentlemen of keeping correspondence with his Majesty, or with the Marquess of *Montrose*; which if I had done, I deserved to have been branded with perpetual infamy, for I never knew any man in this Kingdom that did keep correspondence with them: neither had I Commission from his Majesty, or the Marquess of *Montrose* to treat with any. I did indeed speak with some Noblemen and Gentlemen, because I was formerly obliged unto them for their love to me, and did expect from them some small assistance to furnish me in my journey, but I never spake with them concerning the publick affairs, no farther than the weekly *Gazets* made known to all the world: if these great Fish could have been taken in our Statesmens Nets, it might have been that such a Minnim as I, should have escaped the Baillyff of the Fish-markets hand this day.

I have been from my youth a Soldier ; and though that Calling in it self be honourable, yet men in that Calling have greater occasions and provocations to sin than in any private Calling. Besides naturally my youth led me to some abominable sins, and custom in them did for many years detain me captive unto them ; so that I cannot but confess, that to me appertaineth shame and confusion in this life, and damnation of Soul and Body eternally in Hell fire, if God should deal with me according to my desert, ^{my} my comfort is, that the blood of my Saviour cries louder in his ears for mercy, than my sins do for vengeance ; and that he who hath promised a free pardon and remission unto all penitent sinners through faith in Jesus Christ, will purge and cleanse my Soul from all uncleanness, and deliver me from all blood-guiltiness by the blood of his Son our Saviour. The true sorrow that I find in my Soul for my former sins, and that godly resolution and stedfast promise I have to lead a new life, if it pleased God to continue it, together with the Joy, the Patience, and the Courage I have to suffer, gives me some assurance of this blessed hope, that through faith in Christ Jesus my Saviour, my penitent Soul, though sinful, shall be saved.

And as for my Religion, I die, as I lived, a true Protestant ; this Religion, I thank God, as it preserved me from Popish Superstition, so it kept me from being seduced by the Novelties of the times, and from being deluded with the wicked Doctrine which is now taught by the Reformers of the Kirk. It was this Religion which did keep my hand from your Covenant ; of which in the space of some five Years you gave two interpretations, quite contradictory ; for in the Year 1639. the Assembly did affirm (as appears by our Acts of Parliament and Assembly) that in all causes whatsoever you were to defend and maintain the person and dignity of your King ; but in the Year 1644. You limit your obedience to your King, to your Religion, Laws and Liberty ; and make your selves in all differences between the King and you, both Judge and Party. The Religion in which I was bred, taught me to give both to God, and my King their due ; it taught me to honour and worship God, and to expect Salvation through Christ ; and to live soberly, and to deal justly

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extremely ² candid.

with all men. I ever hated that Religion which made Saints or Angels sharers with God in his worship; or men partakers with my Redeemer in the work of my Redemption, or that made our Christian liberty a cloak of malice; and tho' naturally I inclined to evil, and wicked company drew me to most hainous and filthy sins; yet I thank God I hated that Religion that taught impiety and wickedness, Rebellion, Murther and Injustice, or that approved the killing of Kings and their loyal Subjects for their loyalty, as having its original rather from the Devil, who was a Murtherer from the beginning, than from God; and I did ever esteem it more agreeable to man's sinful and corrupted Nature, than to Gods holy Word. I have heard a learned man say, that it were better to deny God to be, than to believe him to be such an one who delights in the bloody sacrifices of men and women, or to think that he is such an one who delights in Cruelty and Murther; the God whom we serve and worship, is the Saviour of the world, the Preserver of man, the Redeemer of mankind, the avenger of his blood. I have been taught from Gods word, that he hath no pleasure in wickedness, neither shall any evil dwell with him; undoubtedly such bloody Sacrifices cannot be pleasing or acceptable to him, for they are repugnant to his Nature, and contradictory to the justice and equity of his holy Law.

It is my greatest Grief at this time, I did not walk according to the purity of my Religion, and the holiness of God, who hath called us to the knowledge of his truth. Therefore let me entreat you to pray unto God with me, and for me, that he would be pleased to pardon my many and great sins; that he would purge my Soul with the blood of his Son, from the guilt and pollution of all my sins; that I may be presented unto my heavenly Father without spot or wrinkle, holy, without blemish; that he would receive me through the merits of my Saviour into everlasting peace, and into the glorious estate of his chosen Saints in Heaven. O Lord into thy hands I commend my Soul; Lord Jesu receive my spirit; O merciful Father forgive my Enemies, and lay not this sin to their charge. *Amen.*

The Speech of Col. Eusebius Andrews immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, on Thursday August 22. 1650. being attended on by Dr. Swadling.

AS soon as he came upon the Scaffold, kissing the block, he said, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven; and to the *Lieutenant of the Tower*, he said, I hope I shall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he speaks to the people as followeth; *Christian Gentlemen and People*, Your business hither to day is to see a sad spectacle, a man to be in a moment unman'd and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himself, his friends, the *Commonwealth*, or especially to God; it seldom happens but upon very good cause. And though truly, if my general known course of life were but inquired into, I may modestly say there is such a moral honesty upon it, as some may be so sawcy as to expostulate why this great judgment is fallen upon me; yet know, I am able to give them and my self an answer, and out of this breast am able to give a better account of my Judgment and Execution than my Judges themselves, or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of, many Judgments withstood, and Mercies slighted; therefore God hath whipped me by his severe rod of correction, that he might not lose me: I pray join with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staff I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard since my sentence, there is more exception made against proceedings against me than I ever made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indisputable, and for me to make a question of it, I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictness of that law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable; the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that

which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given by persons whom I pity) so false, yet so positive, that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to legal Justice; for equity lieth in higher breasts.

As for my Accusers, or rather Betrayers, I pity, and am sorry for them, they have committed Judas his crime, but I wish and pray for them *Peter's tears*, that by *Peter's* repentance they may escape Judas his punishment; and I wish other people so happy, they may be taken up betimes before they have drank up more blood of *Christian Men*, possibly less deserving than my self.

It is true there have been several Addresses made for Mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more than upon my own sin, and seeing God sees it fit, (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death, which I am contented to do. I profess in the face of God, particular malice to any one of State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury, I had none.

For the cause in which I had long waded, I must needs say, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my Conscience; it was in principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I profess, and on principles of Religion, my Judgment satisfied, and Conscience rectified, that I have pursued those ways which I bless God I find no blackness upon my Conscience, nor have I put it into the bea-roll of my sins.

I will not presume to decide controversies; I desire God to honour Himself in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shall enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possess here; in my conversation in the world, I do not know where I have an enemy with cause, or that there is such a person whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot recollect under the notion of *Christian men*, I pardon them as freely as if I had named them by name, I freely forgive them being in free peace with all the world, as I desire God for Christ's sake, to be at peace with me. For the business of death, it is a sad sentence in it self, if men consult with flesh and blood: But truly without boasting, I say it, or if I do boast, I boast in the Lord, I have not to this minute, had one consultation with the flesh about the blow
of

of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more than as my pass-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulness to those under whose power I am, that they have sent me hither to a place, however of punishment, yet of some honour, to die a death, somewhat worthy of my blood, answerable to my birth and qualification, and this courtesie of theirs hath much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I shall desire God that those Gentlemen in that sad beauro to be tried by the High Court of *Justice*, that they may find that really there, that is nominal in the *Act*; an High Court of *Justice*, a Court of high *Justice*, high in its righteousness, though not in its severity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me, as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death, for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of sins, so I may have the wings of your prayers, to help those Angels that are to convey my soul into Heaven, and I doubt not but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant Master the King of England, and another Master whom I much honoured, my Lord Capel, hoping this day to see my Christ in the presence of the Father, the King in the presence of him, my Lord Capel in the presence of them all; and my self there to rejoyce with all other Saints and Angels for evermore.

Dr. Swadling (he being upon the Scaffold) spake as followeth unto the *Collonel*.

You have this morning in the presence of a few, given some account of your Religion, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith, charity, and repentance.

To those on the Scaffold: *If you please to hear the same questions asked here, you shall, that it may be a general testimony to you all, that he died in the favour of God.*

To the Col. Now Sir, I being to deal with you: *Do you acknowledge that this stroke that you are to suffer, is a just punishment laid upon you by God for your former sins?*

Col. Andrews. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confess it, I have no opportunity of glorifying God more, than by taking shame to my self, and I have a reason

of the justice of God in my own bosom, which I have put to your bosom.

Doct. You acknowledge that you deserve more than this stroke of the Axe, and that a far greater misery is due to you, even the pains and torments of Hell that the damned there endure.

Col. I know it is due in righteous judgment, but I know again, I have a satisfaction made by my elder brother Christ Jesus, and then I say it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quitted by his Righteousness.

Doct. Do you believe to be saved by that Mediator and none other?

Col. By that and that only, renouncing all secondary causes whatsoever.

Doct. Are you truly and unfeignedly sorry before God, as you appear to us, for all those sins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am sorry, and can never be sorrowful enough, and am sorry I can be no more sorry.

Doct. If God should by a Miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God should as he did to Ezekiah, renew your days, what life do you resolve to lead hereafter?

Col. It is a question of great length, and requires a great time to answer. Men in such straits would promise great things; but I would first call some friends to limit how far I should make a Vow, that I might not make a rash one and to offer the sacrifice of fools; but a Vow I would make, and by Gods help endeavour to keep it.

Doct. Do you wish health and happiness upon all lawful Authorities and Government?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawful Government, and the adventuring against them is sinful, and I do not justify my self, whatever my judgment be, for my thus venturing against the present Government, I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be, it must stand.

Doct. Are you now in love and charity with all men? Do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the World freely. and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Doct. You have for some late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in those parts

parts where you had your residence. I have nothing to accuse you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet possibly there might be some wrong done by your Officers, or those under you to some particular men: If you had your Estate in your hands, would you make restitution?

Col. The wrongs themselves you bring to my mind are not great, nor many; some things of no great moment, but such as they are, my desire is to make restitution, but have not wherewithal.

Doct. If you had ability, would you likewise leave a legacy of thankfulness to Almighty God, something to his poor Servants; to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better than my ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I shall trouble you very little farther, I thank you for all those heavenly colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your company these three days, and truly I am very sorry I must part with so heavenly an associate. We have known one another heretofore, but never so Christian-like before, I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, than an instructor: I wish this Stage wherein you are made a spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all about you; for though I will not diminish your sins, nor shall I conceal, nor hypocritize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my self, yet I think there are few here have a lighter load upon them than you have, if we consider things well, and I only wish them your repentance, and that measure of Faith God hath given you, and that measure of courage you have attained from God, and that constant perseverance God hath crown'd you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. turning himself again to the people, spake as followeth.

One thing more I desire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papists; and under that name were made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies; when the distractions in

RELIGION

RELIGION first sprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine in point of Faith, and very much as to their Discipline. The Religion which I profess, is that which passeth under the name of Protestant, though that be rather a name of distinction, than properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the errours of *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward* the 6th. practised in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charles*, that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick, though not the *Roman* Catholick Religion; in the profession and practice whereof I will live and die; That for my Religion. Then he turned himself to the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee, thou art not the hand that throws the stone; I am not of such an Estate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

Execut. *Your hair to be turned up.* Col. *Shew me how to fit myself upon the block.* After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned again to the people, and prayed a good while: Before he laid down upon the Block, he spake again to the people, viz.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath something of pity in it; and may that mercy which is in your hearts fall into your own bosoms when you have need of it; and may you never find such blocks of sin to stand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beseech you join with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had some private conference with Dr. Swadling; then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs, and Acquaintance, saluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himself for the block, kneeling down, said, let me try the block, which he did; after casting his eyes up, and fixing them very intently upon Heaven, he said, when I say Lord Jesus receive me, Executioner do thine Office; then kissing the Axe he laid down, and with as much undaunted, yet Christian Courage as possibly could be in man, did he expose his throat to the fatal Axe, his life to the Executioner, and

commended his Soul into the hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious passion of a gracious Redeemer: saying the aforementioned words, his head was smitten off at one blow.

Sir Henry Hide's Speech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution, March 4. 1650.

Reader, Take notice, that this Speech following is published in those very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there may be some abrupt breakings off, and other expressions not so smooth as might have been, yet I could not with honesty alter a word; and therefore have I tied my self to his own Expressions, that I may neither abuse the world, or the dying Man, or my self.

The Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London, and also in his Company one of his Servants, and Dr. Hide.

Sir Hen. Hide. **I** Am come to put in practice the Christian Profession; and as I owe a death to nature and sin, now I pay it upon the score of grace.

Dr. Hide. Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.

Sir H. Hide. Looking round on the People, he said, A populous City, God bless it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he said, *John*, I pray now, though I have not been a good Master to you, be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind, *John*; Have you my things about you, *John*?

Then

Then staying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he said, I had rather have my Servants than Strangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he said, Pray Sir rejoice with me : I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to suffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are so comforted : Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. Hide. If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well : I seek only the company of your Christian Prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I shall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chirurgeon coming (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, my Kinsman is of no use, you may be useful about my body, I hope Master Sheriff that you'll give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir H. Hide. And likewise for liberty of speech, and that it shall please you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of England) that I may speak my own sense (I am now going into the presence of Almighty God) a very little without any disturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you shall.

Sir H. Hide. John, Where is my Coffin ?

John. It is here, Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it seems these men cannot be found.

Sir H. Hide. But if Mr. Barret could be found. After some stay, Mr. Barret being not found, the Sheriff spake to him, saying,

Sheriff. You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir H. Hide. Where is the place of standing, that way or this way ? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry)

Sheriff. Which way you please ; you may stand which way you will, but that way you must lie (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir H. Hide. I am indifferent : it is not the way to Heaven where a man stands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir H. Hide. That is no hinderance to my felicity.

Dr. Hide.

Dr. *Hide*. God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forsake you that have put your trust in him.

Sir *H. Hide*. I will open my heart and my mouth with thanksgiving (if this Gentleman please to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultry, he put off his Hat, and said, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, good will to men.*

Christian People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Christian-like, I humbly beseech the assistance of your Christian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my passage may be the more easy: Yet because men in that condition, which it hath pleased God to reduce me to, carry more credit to their Speeches; In the discharge of my Duty towards God, I shall use a few words, and so dispatch.

I pray all of you join with me to praise this Almighty God, to whom I desire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, so in particular for this, that he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And because it is fit to render an account of that Hope, that is in me, I shall tell you to the praise of Almighty God, that I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be saved by the only merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatsoever else is profest in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beseeching Almighty God to restore unto this Church her Peace, Prosperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (how ever an unworthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains only Christian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on Earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottom of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantage he takes to bring me nearer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been merciful to me before the foundation of the world, in my Saviour;
so

so that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandment.

On this day seven night I was summon'd before that Justice which condemn'd me on *Friday* last; praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to himself (*putting off his Hat*) My Charge I presume is publick, as my Punishment is visible: If there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilful, having discontinued my own Country many Years, I shall beseech the Christian Charity of all you my beloved Countrymen, to impute it unto the right part, the Ignorance that is in this skilful way of managing: It was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in strange Tongue. I was best skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my Life (if it had been the Custom here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorow paced Cavalier, own my Master. I was told since I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good, so pious, so just a Master (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce; and I humbly beseech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day with thankfulness for it.

As to the business, that another Construction had been made and believ'd here, than what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakness was in the management, that was mine; I was sent to serve and protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here understood, blessed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) so those Gentlemen of the *Turkey* Company, if they would seriously consider, for they know it very well, the impossibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embassy objected against me, that my Master never honoured me withal, I was never worthy of it, I was his Messenger, an *Internuncio* for the conservation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until such time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Resident, or

to send any other ; and they themselves know that there was impossibility in me (as I bless God there was an innocency in me) unto any such intention to do them any harm; for my Master's Commands were point-blank the contrary; I was only sent for their good : as I never own'd the Title, so the very Letters themselves speaking no other : I never did so much as speak of any manner of Address unto the *Grand Signiour*, but gave him the Letter from my Master ; the rest of the *English* Nation that were there present, may, when they please, assert so much. This I would insert, that those Gentlemen, as they have been losers by the miscarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me ; but if it be, as it seems it is now in this Country a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmless employment, not invading any, according to his just Master's Order; for indeed I have been always bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the service due from me to Almighty God, to serve the King (*putting off his hat*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the present things in *England*, for were I (as I spake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black, it were impossible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that employment ; but I bless God for his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the best Physick for the curing of my Soul, and those that have done it, have no more power in than that of my body. I leave nothing behind but that I am willing to part withal, all that I am going to is desirable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Denial of my self, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jesus Christ, not only to forgive every *Enemy*, (if any such be in the World, here or where-soever) but to bring him into his *Bosom* so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evil, for I take him to be the happy instrument

of bring me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bless Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *speaking to some that prest upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable hearts. I have been troublesome.

Sheriff. *You have your liberty to speak more, if you please.*

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that part, Master Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirm'd by Master Attorney-General) of my Masters employment. Truly landing at *Whitehall*, I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have by me; and I have other good things that God hath blessed me withal, more than all the good Christians in the world, that are not the *Grand Signiour's* Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may conduce to our own safety, enlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Master a confirmation of my old Commission of *Consulage* in *Greece*; but as to the Embassy no more than my Credential Letters did speak, nor no more than that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those places, which is a Messenger between the one and the other King; They both unhappily died of several deaths, and both violent too. And it is a custom not unknown to you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practise in the World, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick expressions of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embassy, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have used it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those people that have done it, I owe them no harm, so God pay them home with all the goods of this, and an everlasting life.

As for power, I have been long absent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me is Gods grace to the salvation of my Soul.

I have been always fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, and new Ways, that I must say, Master Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot dispense with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am
now

now (if it may be with your permission, Master Sheriff) to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is straightned.) If I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any thing whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my soul, and my forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive happiness at the hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendish*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that Obedience willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature; to pay it upon the score of a Subject, because Conscience within me, tells me not, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more other ways.

Dr. Hide, There was some suspicion that you might impart the way you were upon to some of those servants that were with you.

Sir Henry Hide. I humbly thank you for remembering me of it; and if any be here of the *Turky Company* this day, or any Friend of theirs, I shall desire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their disturbance; it was my own business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to evil, or loss, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuse any man, nor excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of mischief. I cannot answer Objections; I find a man may be in *Turky*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body, I have discontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandments after the Old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my
K offences

offences to him, and have had my Pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whomsoever, whether I have offended them, or no: I truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to pour his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but instruments; neither at the persons condemning, I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my self, and I beseech Almighty God, that I may be the last that may suffer upon this Score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff, if there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind as I spake in general, I bless God Almighty from my own Heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my ecstasies to heaven there is that glory I am going to. I beseech Almighty God that he will give me grace to bless his holy Name; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulness to my Master, that is the most pious and most just Prince in all the World. My Master hath suffer'd bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his Service, the fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the business, but by the Instance of the Merchants I delivered my Letters, and there they lye: To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perseverance in that Christian Religion, in that loyalty to my Prince, in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Master Sheriff, that I may give satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my punishment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many ways I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me and many thousands more since I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had strange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne

Throne of his Grace into their own Bosoms. And God in particular bless that honourable Lady, who was the occasion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternal Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy : being thankful to all those that know me and know me not, for since I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in respect to my Loyalty (which is not the way now) I have from them all received courtesie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and besides the great desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World; but that the World might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beseech Almighty God to bless and Prosper all people whatsoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, so is my health. I have forced my self in this Discourse to give that satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to answer it; and I beseech you joyn with me in your Christian Prayers, that I may have a passage whether I am now going to give an account, not only of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he said,

Sir H. Hide. *John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brogght to him, he said,

Sir H. Hide. Honest Friend, I have no quarrel with you, you are the wellcome instrument, do your work, only let me see the place, that I may fit my self for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You shall when you have prayed; if you please to pray first,

Sir H. Hide. I desire to see the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner is that Mony that is left; here is four pound for you.

Then being shewed the Block, he kissed it, saying,

Sir H. Hide. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Masters was, Blessed be God, Blessed be his holy Name (*putting of his hat*) I have an infirmity in my body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff, Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir H. Hide. I have (I thank Almighty God) done those Christian Offices belonging to me at home, I come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he said the Lord's Prayer.

Then having prayed a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir H. Hide. Honest Friend, I pray give me direction what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarf over the Block, he said,

Sir H. Hide. Put it not on now, but by and by.

Dr. Hide. God all Almighty strengthen you.

Sir H. Hide. God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; where upon he said,

Sir H. Hide. Must I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all these Diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his man not helping him, he said,

Sir H. Hide. *John*, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you I could neither rise nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again, *John*.

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir H. Hide. Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying,

Sir H. Hide. I will only say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul*, and when I lift my right hand, do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little space he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.

The Manner of the Death and Sufferings of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire, together with a true Copy of his Speech, Deportment and Prayers before his death, on Wednesday the 15th day of October, 1651.

THe Earl of Derby (according to the order of the Court Marshal held at Chester, by which he was sentenced to die at Bolton in Lancashire) was brought to that Town with a guard of Horse and Foot of Col. Jones's, commanded by one Southley, who received his order from Col. Robert Duckenfield, betwixt 12 and 1 of the clock on Wednesday the 15th. of October, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the Prison at Chester, to the place of his death.

He was brought to a house in the Town near the Cross, where the Scaffold was raised; and as he passed by said, [*VENIO DOMINE,*] *I am prepared to fulfil thy will, O my God: this Scaffold must be my Cross; blessed Saviour I take it up willingly, and follow thee.* From thence going into a Chamber with some friends and servants, he was advertised by the Commander in Chief, that he had till three of the Clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of the Town and Country generally refusing to carry so much as a plank, or strike a nail, or to lend any assistance to that work, their cry being generally in the streets, *O sad day, O woful day! shall the good Earl of Derby die here? many sad losses have we had in this War, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country must suffer here; And to add to his trouble, most of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruines of Latham-House; but nothing could alter his Lordship's resolution and courage: for with a steadfast composed countenance and a cheerful, he called the company which were present to prayers with him, wherein he shewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his sins, be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious*

To this Land, in restoring the *King, Laws, and Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all those that suffered by his *Loss*, or that had been *Friends* to him.

Rising from prayer, he sat down with a very pleasing countenance, and assured the standers by, that God had heard his prayers, which the blessed Spirit of God witnessed unto him, in the present Comforts he now felt in his Soul: Then he entred into a discourse of his life, and beseecht God to forgive him the Days and time he had mispent, and said it was his comfort, that although he had not walked so circumspectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a sense of his sins, and a tender respect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had Mercy for him, that he had strengthened and comforted him against all the terrors of death.

After these and some other words to this purpose, he desired his friends and the people by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, rising from his knees, he appeared fully satisfied of a gracious return to his prayers, and never after shewed any sadness in his countenance.

His next business was with his *Son* the Lord *Strange*, whom he publicly charged to be dutiful to his *Sad Mother*, affectionate to his distressed *Brothers* and *Sisters*, and studious of the Peace of his *Country*: But especially (said he) *Son* I charge you upon my Blessing, and upon the Blessings you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your distressed Mother, ever obedient to her commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a person well known to the most eminent Personages, of England, France, Germany and Holland, noted for Piety, Prudence, and all Honourable Virtues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increase in favour with God and Man.

Then he desired to be private in the room himself; where he was observed to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and sighs before his God: Then when he called the company in again, his eyes witnessed to us, that he had abundantly mixed Tears with his Prayers; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, being assured by the Testimony of God's Spirit, that he should be carried from Trouble to Rest and Peace, from Sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and

and that Death had no other bitterness in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he *humbly* commended to the Protection and Providence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father*; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who sat in the seat of Authority, would make provision for them, hoping that his death might satisfy all those who sought his life, whom he freely forgave, and desired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and blessed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never so hardened) to see the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katherine* and the Lady *Amely Stanley*, upon the road betwixt *Chester* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud; to whom his Lordship with a cheerful countenance, and courteous humbleness said, *Good people, I thank you, and I beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed God return your prayers back into your own bosoms: The God of Mercies bless you, the Son of God establish you in righteousness, and the Holy Ghost fill you with all comforts.* — Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up and said. *God I thank thee, I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but these few steps to my eternity;* Then kissing the ladder, he went up and saluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon the Scaffold, then went to the East end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his Hat again and saluted the people with a cheerful countenance, said—*I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to die in this place, and I thank God I do with all willingness and readiness submit to his most blessed will.*

'Tis a place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as also for your particular respects to me whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I kill one *Boorle* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men present, both that day this Town was taking, and divers other times during this War, that can justify I preserv'd many lives; but I know there is not any one present

that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatsoever to *my charge*; unless what might casually happen in the fury and heat of a *Battel*; and why I die in this Town, I know not, unless it be to perswade the Nation that I fall as a sacrifice for that blood which some said I shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared my self before my Grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleased to here me, before they had destroyed me; that report being hastily brought up among them, by some that I hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me by the Council of War (for *Boote's* death was never mentioned against me there, that being only secretly used to raise a prejudice against me in the judgments of such as did not know me) my crimes (I say) though I hope it deserves a far better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King; I came in obedience to his Majesties call, whom both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived my self obliged to obey, and according to the *Protestation* I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so if it be my crime, I here confess it again before God, Angels and Men, *that I love Monarchy as the best Government*, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my Master that now is, *Charles* the second of that name, whom I my self in this Country proclaimed King, the Lord bless and preserve him, and incline the hearts of those that have power in this Notion, to accept him to his Father's Throne with Honour and Peace; for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, so I believe also, that King *Charles* the second, our now lawful King, were he a stranger to this Crown, were the most fit, and most accomplisht Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people; his admirable Pitety, Vertue, Justice, great Valour and Discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wish the people of this Nation so much happiness (when my eyes are closed) that he may Peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his just right, and then they shall never want their just

just right, which till then, they will always want.

As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I only sought for peace, and settling the late King my Master in his just rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other design, intent or Purpose for my then taking up arms: and for this last ingagement, I profess here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawful Sovereign into that Throne, out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by the most unjust sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against Law and all Justice kept out and dispossessed of; and this was all my reason. For as for estate or quality, I wanted not a sufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either: for by the favour of my Kings Predecessors, my family was raised to a condition well known in this Country; and now it is as well known, that by his enemies I am adjudged to dye, and that by *new and monstrous laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country, for fighting for my country; as a Traytor to the Laws, for endeavouring to preserve the Laws: But, *Ob!* God give me grace to consider him who suffered such contradictions of sinners, and O my God, assert the King to his Fathers Throne, assert the Laws to their former honour, and restore thy own Religion in its purity, that all these shadows and false pretences of Religion may vanish away, and our childrens posterities may serve thee in spirit and in truth.

Good friends, I die for the * King the Laws * At which
of the land, and the Protestant Religion main- words. King
tained in the Church of England, all which as I and Laws,
was ready to maintain with my life, so I cheer- a Trooper
fully suffer for them in this welcom death- said aloud,
we will nei-

ther have King, Lord, nor Laws; and upon a sudden the soldiers being either surprized with fear at a strange noise that was heard, or else falling into mutiny, presently fell into a tumult, riding up and down the streets, cutting and slashing the people, some being killed and many wounded; his Lordship looking upon this sad spectacle, said thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more than my own death, that others are hurt, and (I fear)

fear) die for me; I beseech you stay your hands, I flie not, you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you. But being interrupted in his speech, and not permitted to go on further, (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turn'd aside to his servant, and gave him the speech into his hand, saying, I will speak to my God, who I know will here me, and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have said. Here is Lordship was interrupted: but it was as follows, in his own copy under his own hand.

I am sentenced to death by a Council of War, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and safe usage by Captain Edge. I had reason to have expected the Council would have justified my *Plea*, which hath been *Ancient, Honorable, Sacred and Unviolable*, until this time that I am made the first suffering Precedent: for I dare affirm it that never Gentleman before in any *Christian Nation* was adjudged to death by a Council of War after quarter given; I am the first, and I pray God I may be the last Precedent in this case: I must die, and I thank God I am ready for it; Death would now be my choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me which I much care for, but my King, my Wife, my Children, my Friends, whom (I trust) the never failing mercies of my God will provide for: beseech God shew mercy to those, who neither had mercy nor justice for me: My blessed Saviour taught me by his example and command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life, and let me not offend against them at my death: I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them also.

Of my Faith and Religion, I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I profess my faith to be in God only, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my Soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God, by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful Son to the Church of England, as it was established in that blessed Prince my late Masters Reign, which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most pure and agreeable to the word of God, and primitive Government, of any Church within 12. or 1300. years since Christ, and which (to my great comfort) I left established in the Isle of Man; God preserve it there, and restore it to this Nation.

And O blessed God, I magnifie thy Name, that thou gavest me the happiness and mercy to be born in a Christian Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was professed in purity: With honour to thy Name, and comfort to thy people, I ascribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my bosome, to the Ministry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy Church, and made effectual by the operation of the same blessed Spirit. In this faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I die: pray for me, I beseech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my prayers, for mine and your salvation.

Presently after the tumult was over, his Lordship called for the Headsman, and asked to see the Ax, and taking it in his hand, said, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am sure it cannot hurt me; and then kissing it said, Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is as a sign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, said to the Headsman, *Here Friend, take these two pieces, all that I have, thou must be my Priest, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headsman had on, this (saies he) will be troublesome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willing as I put off this garment of my flesh, that is now so heavy for my soul: then some of the standers by bid the Headsman kneel, and ask his Lordship pardon; but he did not, but was surly and crabbed: but his Lordship said, Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee also: Then turning up his eyes to heaven; said aloud, How long Lord? how long? then gently passing over the Scaffold, and seeing one of his Chaplains on horseback among the people, Good Sir (said he) pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own bosom, and I pray remember me kindly to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.* Then

Then turning towards his Coffin, *Thou art (said he) my bridal Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard and sleep without Soldiers.*

Then looking towards the Block, he asked if all were ready, *That (said he) methinks is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt that and heaven;* then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them, and desired again their prayers; then said, *I see your tears, and here your sighs and groans, and prayers: the God of Heaven bear and grant your supplications for me and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the Block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, saying, *Whilst I am here, I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be overpast;* then he pulled off his blew garter, and sent it to his Son, and pulling off his doublet with a very religious cheerfulness he said, *I come, Lord Jesus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever:* upon this he said, *pray tell me how must I lye, I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that severe curiosity to see any man put to death in peace;* then laying himself down on the block, after a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to be a little removed; then said to the Headsman, *Friend, remember what I said to thee: and be no more afraid to strik than I to die; and when I put up my hand, do thy work.* So looking round about upon his friends and the people, he said, *The Lord blefs you all, and once more pray for me and with me;* at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himself, with great sighing, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer; then rising up again, he said, *(smilingly) My soul is now at rest and so shall my body be immediatly. The Lord blefs my King, and restore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord blefs this Kingdom, and restore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to settle truth and peace; and the Lord blefs this Country, and this Town, and this People. The Lord comfort my sad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happiness, both here and hereafter, and the Lord forgive them who were the cause and authors of this my sad end and unjust death,*

death, for so it is to mankind; though before God I deserve much worse, but I hope my sins are all bathed in the blood of Jesus Christ. So laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretch out, he said these words.

Blessed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole Earthe be filled with his glory, Amen, Amen.

At which words, he gave the Headsmen the sign; but he either not observing it, or not being ready, stayed too long, so that his Lordship rose up again, saying, Why do you keep me from my Saviour? what have I done that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay down my self in peace, and so take my everlasting rest. Then saying, *Come Lord Jesus come quickly*, he stretched out his arms, and gave the sign, repeating the same words:

Blessed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and crying, and giving all expressions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps were carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to a house in the Town, where was thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper these two lines.

Upon JAMES Earl of DERBY

*Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (here) in one lie dead.
A Stanleys hand, Veres heart, and Cecil's head.*

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Resolved by the Court upon the Question,

That James Earl of Derby is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12. of August, 1651. last past, entituled, *An Act Prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart or his party*, and so of High-Treason against the Common-wealth of England, and is therefore worthy of death.

Resol.

Resolved by the Court,

That the said *James Earl of Derby*, is a traytor to the Common-wealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and assister of the declared Traytors and Enemies thereof, and shall be put to death by severing his head from his body, at the Market-place in the Town of *Bolton in Lancashire*, upon *Wednesday* the 15. day of this instant *October*, about the hour of one of the Clock the same day.

The Speech and manner of putting to death Col. John Gerhard, who was beheaded on Tower-Hill, July 10. 1654.

Published by his Friends.

FROM the first day of his imprisonment he fore-saw the heavy sentence hovering upon him, and therefore gave all diligence to secure himself against it; that however he underwent a temporal condemnation, he might escape an eternal. But after that sad doom was pronounced, then he bestirred himself amain, and made double hast for Heaven; It was for his life, and therefore he would lose no minute, but the same night gave directions to a dear friend for a Minister (whom he knew to have long honoured his family) to be brought to him early next morning; and it pleased Authority to gratifie him in this great desire, so that an order was sent freely for the quiet admission of any such person to him. With this spiritual friend he spent some hours every day in prayer, and other ghostly refreshments, which (God be praised) were not without sweet effect and impressions upon his Soul.

Mr. Bond. There were some other Ministers of great observation for gravity and godliness in these times, who visited him, and who I am confident will put their seal to this truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modest; penitent, comforted, and not far from the Kingdom of God; if not already in
it

it : but I have good hope he was in possession, and so had he, through grace. Upon the morning (which was the last he must see till that of the Resurrection) he submitted to some wholsom orders of the Church ; and received her comforts by them. That done, he proceeded to (the highest enjoyment of grace that can be administered upon earth) the holy Communion, whereof with his Brother Sir Gilbert Gerard he was a partaker, with as much reverence, zeal, thankfulness, holy sorrows, and holy joys, as a devout Soul could evidence. He wept as if he would have washed his Saviours wounds which his faith presented in his tears ; and yet he said he was admirably ravished with all inward peace and comfort in his own conscience. This passed, he had now nothing to do but to die, which he expected that morning very speedly ; But by the pleasure of Authority, both the time and the place of his Execution was altered, so that he was to wait a little longer, until evening, for his release. Many friends and persons of Honour came to take their last leave of him, who can gladly witness his undisturbedness and civil cheerfulness to every one of them. His Brother tarried continually with him, and they are together ; and though some eruptions of passion could not be restrained now and then where nature was so much concerned, yet they were generally pleasant, and last parted (about half an hour before he was led forth to death) with as much calmness and placidness, as if they had been to meet again anon safe and unhurt as they had done formerly, So have I seen a windy and stormy day concluding in stillness and Sun-shine, as if weary and desiring to rest without any breath of trouble. The Minister only waiting on him to the last ; and about five a clock enters the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriff of London, Two sure friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath life remaining in him : They told him a sower Message, that they were come to conduct him to his death's blow : He reply'd they were very welcome, and received them so fearless and untroubled, that the Sheriff told the Minister, *He was sorry to see him so unfit for that condition ;* but (under favour) he mistook his condition, That which he accounted fitness to die, our Pamphlet-mongers would have called flagging and cowardise. So hard a thing it is to satisfy all curiosities, even with our blood, and nothing more

more ingenious than to carry this bitter cup even, when so many misconstructions shake it. At his lodging he desired the Sheriff that he would permit the Minister and three others that were his Friends and Servants to go up on the Scaffold with him; which as it was seasonable wisdom in him to desire, so was it a fortunate kindness from them that granted it, else it may be their testimony might have been wanting to his injured reputation. He took leave particularly of the household where he was a Prisoner, and was so clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his way into the Kitchen to bid his Landlady farewell, giving thanks for her respects during his bonds, which he said he should die in to her. As he passed by the Guards in the Tower, he gave them money twice, and told them, he should trouble them no longer, being on his remove to better guards. He walked along to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, shewing a great deal both of humility and respect to the people, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went, he was bare-headed for the most part, carrying his Hat in his hand, and sometimes resting it in a careless bravery on his left side. When he came to (or rather leap'd upon) the Scaffold (for he was far from flagging when to tread that Tragical stage, that many observ'd how sprightly he seem'd to skip up the steps to it, as if he had gone to dance there rather than to die) his grim Executioner presented himself to him, to whom with a cheerful smile he said, *Welcome honest Friend*; And desiring to see his Ax, he took it into his hands and kissing it, with a pretty glance of his eye (which was a natural loveliness in him) towards the Minister, he said, *This will do the Deed I warrant it*. The Scaffold was very much crowded with people; yet as well as he could he made some turns to and fro upon it, with a paper (which he had taken out of his pocket) in his hand, wherein it seems he had prepared some heads of a speech which he intended to have delivered: but the Sheriff and Lieutenant told him, if he spoke any thing, it must be very brief, and that they must not suffer him to speake any thing that was seditious; *Well Gentlemen* (said he) *your will be done; but (God be praised) I never yet had to do with any thing that was seditious! I would fain have spoken something to clear myself to the world, according to the custom, if it might have*

be.

been, But come Sir, said he turning to the Minister, Let you and I speak to him that will give us leave: and so kneeling down together in a corner of the stage, the Minister pray'd with him a short time, which done, they stood up again. Then turning himself to the People and putting off his Hat he told them, That he was not permitted to speak a few words according to his intention, yet he doubted not but what he would have said would come to their eyes, though it must not come to their ears: But this I desire all to take notice of, and this he spoke (with a double vehemence) that I die a faithful subject and servant to King Charles the second, whom I pray God to bless and restore to his Rights; and had I ten thousand thousand lives I would gladly lay them all down thus for his service. Here he was interrupted, and the Sheriff wished him rather to confess what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for; He answered That he had confessed all that he knew concerning any Plot, that he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemn'd him, than he did; but he heartily forgave them. The Minister told him it was well done to forgive and pardon those that persecute us: That was an act of Christian love, but as his case stood, love was not enough; He ought to deal in this business (upon which his life lay) with all candour and sincerity, not concealing any thing of that nature as was charged against him as far as he might glorifie God and serve the publick good. Upon which lifting up his eyes towards Heaven, and laying his hand upon his breast, Oh Sir, says he if there had been any such thing in this breast, would I not have revealed it before this time! I protest in the sight of Almighty God, I knew no more of any such design, but only what I have often acknowledged; that it was motioned to me by Henlshaw, (who I confidently believe is in their hands) and debated twice or thrice when I was with him: but I never entertained it at all, and at the last flatly disowned it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times pressing me to nominate what Persons I knew I could bring and to have their names; but let them shew any such thing if they can against me. But I am certain he is in their hands. Pausing here a little, and fetching a turn or two upon the Scaffold, being very hot (as he had been all that morning) he called for some small beer which he had given order to be ready, and was brought thither in a stone

bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Minister went to him, and minded him that something might be expected from him as to his Religion, and disposition to die. To which (gathering up an extraordinary resolution in his face) he replied, *I die a Christian, a true Christian, according to that Faith and Religion which was professed by the Church of England in the time of our late King of blessed memory. And I praise God I am so fitted and ready to die, that I am confident by the merits of Christ Jesus, that my sins are pardoned, and my salvation is at hand.* Then turning about he called for his Waist-coat and Cap, and throwing off his Doublet put them on, whilst his servants helped to put up his hair. His Waist-coat was not very clean, which he took notice of to his man: but 'tis no great matter saith he, if the heart be clean, all's well enough. Being thus prepared, he calls for the Block: and viewing it (as with delight) laid himself down upon it to see how it would fit, and was so far from sinking at the sight of it, that he almost play'd with it: and rising quickly pulls a little paper-book out of his pocket, which he gave to the Minister, willing him to find that particular Prayer which was proper for that occasion, but the crowd being great, he could not quickly find it, so that he kneeled down with the book open a while in his hand as if he had read; but quickly shut it, and prayed with great expressions of fervency by himself. When he had done, the Lieutenant said something to him (as it seems) concerning his Brother Charles that had witnessed against him; (I know not what the Lieutenant said, for he spake low) but Mr. Gerard spake aloud, and replied passionately, *O Christ Sir! I love my poor Brother with all my heart, he is but a youth and was terrified, I know how he was dealt with; tell him I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my life. And commend me to my Brother Sir Gilbert, whose release I beseech you Sir to assist: there being no more cause, that I know of, for his imprisonment than only that he was found in the same bed with me, which sure is no Capital crime.* Having said this, he took his leave of him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the Stage: and turning about once more to the people, desired them to pray for him, himself kneeling down with the Minister, laid his hand in his bosom, and they prayed together the last time. After this he bids them all farewell again, and

besought

besought them to remember they had a poor Sovereign abroad who deserved to be remembered. Then forgiving the Executioner and saluting the Minister with his last embrace and kisses, he bow'd himself to the stroak of Death, with as much Christian meekness and noble courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever seen in any that had Bled upon that Altar. And this all the people that where Spectators did seem to understand and acknowledge; beholding his fatal blow with an universal sadness and silence; whereas, when the other Gentleman fell quickly after upon another score of blood and ryot, they gave a great and general shout, as applauding the Justice of the Portugals death; but pitying and bewailing the untimely fall of so brave and magnanimous a spirit as did (through all the clouds of death) shine gloriously in this unfortunate Gentleman.

His Speech.

Gentlemen.

AS this kind of spectacle is no new entertainment to your eyes, for you have had a late glut of such objects: so is it no strange thing to me to be made such a spectacle; for I have been bred upon the Theatre of death, and have learned that part so well, though I confess a very hard one, as to perform it pretty handsomly, both as becomes a Gentleman and a Christian.

Only I Must desire you to expect no fine Prologue, or Speech from me; I never studied to make Orations; a very unfit man to lay plots against a State, who am scarce able to lay a few lines of plain English together, as I ought: But though I cannot speak happily; I doubt not but I shall die happily.

I confess my self a great sinner, Who is innocent? God be merciful to me a miserable sinner. I adore the justice of God in all this that is come upon me; I have deserved to die long since; and blessed be God who hath given me such time to prepare. But for this Crime I stand condemned for to day, I do protest mine own innocency, as to any consent or ingagement to do as in it.

I hope you will believe me, when you consider upon what slender proofs and testimonies I suffer; none of them legal, or positive, but circumstantial.

For my brother Charles, Alas poor youth! how he was wrought upon! but I desire all my friends to think honourably of him.

For my Brother Sir Gilbert.

This Imagination of a Plot is said to be hatched in France, but I fear the nest was at Whitehall.

As for the King—so far from concurring to such a Deed, that I am only unsatisfied in this, whether I shall die right in his favour, because suspected of any thing so unworthy of him.

I fear he lost his Kingdoms by such practices, but whether he would recover them so, is a question: God hath better ways when it shall be good in his Sight to plead his cause.

I was lately in France, but on my own score; for I have commanded there and probably might.

For my past life it hath been but a troublesome one but now I hope I shall rest! Since I was any thing, I have served the King, as I was bound: And I wish all that did so, had done it as faithfully! He was condemned for a Tyrant, but God—

For my Religion, though a Souldier, I am able to profess I am a Christian Souldier, a true Son of the Church of England, as constituted under Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles of Blessed memory. Her Doctrine and Government I embrace, Her Truth and Peace I pray God to restore.

I humbly give thanks to God Almighty for providing me the comfort of a Minister, on whose fidelity I might repose my Soul.

And I pray God to bless the poor faithful Ministers of this Church, and give you hearts to esteem them; the want whereof is no small want of our misery.

My days have been few and evil, yet God be blessed, in all the vanities and folly of youth, I have been far from Atheism or contempt of Gods worship; I had always awful impressians of God's Honour and Service, which is now my comfort.

And now dear Countrymen fare you well I pray God bless you all, this whole Nation.

Alas poor England! When will these black days be over! When will there be blood enough! I wish mine might fill up the measure. I forgive all.

Once more fare you well; Commend me to all my friends, Pray for me.

I pray God make you as faithful and loyal as I have lived,

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and as happy as I shall be by and by when I am dead.

Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Father of mercies have mercy on me.

Saviour of the world, save my soul.

O Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, hear my prayers.

Into thy hands O Lord I commend my Spirit.

Lord Jesus receive my soul.

The Tryal and Illegal Proceedings against
the Honourable Col. John Penruddock,
before the Commissioners of Oyer and
Terminer, In the Castle of Exon. April
19th 1655.

Also the Letters betwixt him and his Wife, during
the time of his Sufferings.

Together with the true Coppy of his Speech on the
Scaffold before he was Beheaded in the Castle of
Exon. the 16th day of May 1655.

Published by his Friends, from his own Papers.

UPon Thursday the 19 of April 1655. the Commissioners
of Oyer and Terminer, being sate in the Castle of Exon,
summoned before them my self, Mr. Hugh Grove, Mr. Rich-
ard Reeves, Mr. Robert Duke, Mr. George Duke, Mr. Thomas
Fitz-James, Mr. Frances Jones, Mr. Edward Davis, Mr.
Thomas Poulton, and Mr. Francis Benner. Being all called
to the Bar, we were commanded to hold up our hands,
and an Indictment of high Treason was read against us:
and being asked whether we would plead guilty or not
guilty to the Indictment; in the behalf of my self and of
the Gentlemen therein charged, I spake as followeth.

Col. Penruddock, My Lords, though my education hath been such as not to give me those advantages which the knowledge of the Laws would have assisted me with, for the defending my self: yet upon hearing this very Indictment, my reason tells me, that it is illegal: and therefore I do demand Council that may dispute the illegality thereof.

Serjeant Glyn. Sir, you desire that which cannot be granted, therefore give your answer whether you are guilty or not guilty of the Treason of which you stand charged.

Col. Pen. Sir by your favour, it is that which hath been granted to my inferiors, (*viz.*) to Mr. *Lilburn* and to one *Rolf* a Shoo-maker, and I have as great a right to the Laws as any person that sits here as my Judge, I do therefore challenge it as my right. Judge *Nicholas* whom I there see, will tell you he himself was Council for this *Rolf*: and it is a hard case, if a free-born Gentleman of *England* cannot have the same priviledge that his inferiors have had before him.

Attorney General. Sir, there is a great difference between Treason acting and acted; the latter is your case: therefore flatter not your self, and do not think your being mute shall save your estate in case of Treason; for if you plead not to the Indictment, sentence will be pronounced against you, as if you had been found guilty of the fact you are charged with.

Col. Pen. Sir, I observe your distinction: but all the Logick you have, shall not make me nor any Rational man acknowledge, that this was either acting or acted, before it be proved Sir, it is but a bare suspicion, and I hope you will not condemn me before I am convicted: I say the Indictment is illegal, and I do demand Council.

At. Gen. Sir, the Court must not be daillied withal: I do peremptorily demand of you, are you guilty or not guilty? If you pleade, you may have favour, otherwise we shall proceed to sentence.

Col. Pen. Sir, put case I do plead, shall I then have Council allowed me?

At. Gen. Sir, the Court makes no bargains, refer yourself to us.

Hereupon my fellow-prisoners perswaded me to plead not guilty: which being done, I demanded Council, as being partly promised it. Mr. Attorney told me: I could have none. Then I replied:

Col. Pen. Sir, *Durus est hic sermo*, it is no more than I expected from you; but rather than I will be taken off unheard, I will make my own defence as well as I can. The Jurors being then called, I challenged about 24 of the 35. I might have challenged. The rest of the Gentlemen were sent from the bar; I was left alone upon my trial; and the Jurors were so packt, that had I known them, the issue had been the same that it was. The Jurors being sworn, and the Indictment again read, Mr. Attorney demanded what exception I could make to it.

Col. Pen. Sir, I except against every part thereof: For I take it to be illegal *in toto Composito*.

Recorder Steel. Sir, It is not usual for any Court to admit of general exceptions, therefore we expect that you should make it to some particular.

Col. Pen. Sir, I desire a Copy of my Indictment, and time until to morrow to make my defence.

At. Gen. Sir, You cannot have it; the Court expects you should do it now.

Col. Pen. Then if I cannot have time, if my peneral exception might have been admitted, it would have told you, that there can be no high Treason in this Nation. but it must be grounded upon the Common, or the Statute Law: But this is neither grounded upon the Common Law or the Statute, *ergo* no Treason (against a Protector who hath no power according to Law:) neither is there any such thing in Law as a Protector, for all Treasons and such pleas are *Propria causa Regis*.

Ser. Glyn. Sir, You are peremptory, you strike at the Government; you will fare never a whit the better for this speech: speak as to any particular exception you have to the Indictment.

Col. Pen. Sir, if I speak any thing which grates upon the present Government, I may confidently expect your pardon: my life is as dear to me as this Government can be to any of you. The holy Prophet *David* when he was in danger of his life, feigned himself mad, and the spittle King upon his beard; you may easily therefore excuse my imperfections. And since I am now forced to give you my particular exception (more plainly) to the Indictment, I am bold to tell you, I observe in the latter part of the Indictment, you say I am guilty of High Treason by

vertue of a Statute in that case made and provided. If there be any such Statute, pray let it be read; I know none such. My Actions were for the King; and I well remember what *Brañ.* saith, *Rex non habet superiorem nisi Deum; satis habet ad pœnam, quod Deum expectat ultorem.* And in another place he saith, *Rex habet potestatem & jurisdictionem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt: ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis & pacis, ad nullum pertinent, nisi ad Regiam dignitatem: habet etiam coercionem, ut delinquentes puniat & coerceat:* Again he saith, *Omnes sub Rege, & ipse sub nullo nisi tantum Deo; non est inferior sibi subjectis; non parem habet in regno suo.* This shews us where the true power is. You shall find also.

That whosoever shall refuse to aid the King when War is levied against him, or any that keeps the King from his just Rights, offends the Law, and is thereby guilty of Treason. Again,

All men that adhere to the King in personal service are freed from Treason by Law: and yet you tell me of a Statute, which makes my adhering to the King according to Law, to be high Treason. Pray let it be read.

At. Gen. You have not behaved your Self so as to have such a favour from the Court.

Col. Pen. Sir, I require it not as a favour, but as my Right.

At. Gen. Sir, you cannot have it.

Col. Pen. If I cannot have it, these Gentlemen that are the Jurors have not offended you: their verdict reaches to their Souls, as to my life: pray let not them go blindfold, but let that Statute be their guide.

At. Gen. Sir, The Jury ought to be satisfied with what hath been already said, and so might you too.

Col. Pen. Sir, I thank you: you now tell me what I must trust to.

Mr. Atturney then made a large speech in the face of the the Court, wherein he aggravated the offence with divers circumstances; as saying, I had been four years in *France*, and held a Correspondency with the King my Master, of whom I had learned the Popish Religion; That I endeavoured to bring in a debauched lewd young man, and to engage this Nation in another bloody War; and that if I had not been timely prevented, I had destroyed them

(mean-

(meaning the Jurors) and their whole Families. I interrupted him and said,

Col. Pen. Mr. Attorney, you have been heretofore of Council for me, you then made my case better than indeed it was; I see you have the faculty to make men believe falshood to be Truth too.

At. Gen. Sir you interrupt me, you said but now, you were a Gentleman.

Col. Pen. Sir, I have been thought worthy heretofore to sit on the bench, though now I am at the Bar. Mr. Attorney then proceeded in his speech and called the witnesses. Then I said,

Sir You have put me in a bears skin, and now you will bait me with a witness. But I see the face of a Gentleman here in the Court, (I mean Captain Crook) whose conscience can tell him, that I had Articles from him, which ought to have kept me from hence. Captain Crook here upon stood up, and his guilty conscience (I supposed) advised him to sit down again, after he had made this speech, (that is to say) he opened his lips and spake nothing. The several witnesses now come in, Mr. Dove the Sheriff of Wilts, and others; my charity forbids me to tell you what many of them swore: I shall therefore omit that, and only tell you, that one of our own party (and indeed I think an honest man) being forced to give his evidence, I said, My Lords, it is a hard case, that when you find you cannot otherwise cleave me in pieces, that you must look after wedges made of my own timber. The vertuous Cryer of Blandford being asked what were the words I used in proclaiming King Charles at the market, he said, I declared for Charles the Second, and setting the true Protestant Religion, for the liberty of the Subject, and privilege of Parliaments.

Then I said unto the Attorney General and the whole Court, you said even now that I had learned of the King my Master the Popish religion, and endeavoured to bring him in: your own witness tells you what, and whom I would bring in, and it was the true Protestant, and not the Popish Religion, his Majesty is of, and intends to settle. I urged divers cases to make the business but a Riot (as my Lord of Northumberland) pretending it was for the taking of Taxes and that the power was not declared to be where they say
it

it is. I requir'd the Judges to be of Council for me, and told them it was their duty. Commissioner *Lisle* told me I should have no wrong, (but he meant Right) but Judge *Rolls* and *Nicholas* confessed themselves parties, therefore would say nothing. Then I told the Court, if I had seen a Crown upon the head of any person, I had known what had been Treason, the Law of *England* would have taken hold of me out of the respects it as to Monarchy: There was no such land-mark before me; therefore I conceive, I cannot be guilty of what I am charged with. And my Lord and Mr. Attorney, you here Indict me for a Treason committed at *Southmoulton* in *Devonshire*; and Gentlemen ye swear witnesses against me for facts done in other Counties, *Sarum*, *Blanford*, and *Southmoulton* are not in a parish. You puzzle the Jurors with these circumstances pray go to the kernel; and you Gentlemen of the Jury, save your labour of taking those notes. Mr. Attorney then address'd himself to the Jury, and to be short, after the space of half an hour long, gave them directions to bring me in guilty: this being done, I craved the favour from the Court, that I might speak to the Jury; which being allowed, I said to them as followeth, or to the same effect.

Gentlemen, You are called a Jury of life and death; and happy will it be for your Souls, if you prove to be a Jury of life. You have heard what hath been said to make my actions Treason, and with what vigor many untruths have been urged to you. I have made appear to you, that there can be no Treason but against the King; that the Law knows no such person as a Protector. Mr. Attorney pretends a Statute for it, but refuseth the reading thereof, either to me or you; vilifies more at pleasure, and tells you I am a Papist, and would bring in the Popish Religion: and that if I had not been timely prevented, I had destroyed you. I hope you are all satisfied of the contrary, from the mouth of one of the best witnesses. You are now Judges between me and these Judges. Let not the majesty of their looks, or the glory of their habits betray you to a sin, which is of a deeper dye than their scarlet; I mean that sin, blood, which calls to Heaven for vengeance. Gentlemen, you do not see a hair of my head but is numbered, neither can you make any one of them; much less can you put breath into my nostrils when it is taken out:

a sparrow doth not fall to the ground without the providence of God, much less shall man, to whom he hath given dominion and rule over all the creatures of the earth. Gentlemen, look upon me, I am the Image of my creator, and that stamp of his which is in my vizard, is not to be defaced without an account given wherefore it was. I have here challenged, as I am a Gentleman and free-born man of England, the right which the law allows me; I demanded a copy of my Indictment, and Council, but it is denied me. The Law which I would have been tried by, is the known Law of the Land, which was drawn by the wise consultation of our Princes, and by the ready pens of our Progenitors. The Law which I am now tried by, is no Law, but what is cut off by the point of a rebellious Sword; and the sheets in which they are recorded, being varnished with the moisture of an eloquent tongue, if you look not well to it, may chance to serve for some of your Shrouds. If the fear of displeasing others shall betray you to find me guilty of any thing, you can at the most, but make a riot of this. Pray by the way take notice, that the last Parliament would not allow the Legislative power to be out of themselves; seventeen of twenty in this very County were of that opinion, and deserted the house: they were your Representative: if you find me guilty, you bring them in danger, and in them your selves. Have a care of being drawn into a snare. Gentlemen your blood may run in the same channel with mine. If what I have said, do not satisfy you, so as to acquit me, if you bring me in a special verdict, you do in some measure acquit your selves, and throw the blood that will be spilt, upon the Judges; Consider of it, and the Lord direct you for the best.

The Jury after a quarter of an hours retirement, brought me in guilty: the Lord forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

Upon *Monday* the 23 of *April* we were again called to the Bar, being then in number twenty six. Serjeant *Glyn* asked of me first, what I could say for my self, that I should not have sentence according to the Law? Then I said,

My Lords and Gentlemen, you ask what I can say for my self, that I should not have sentence pass upon me. The Jury found me guilty; if I should go about to make a defence

defence now, it would signifie no more than as if my Friends would Petition for my pardon after I am executed. I could have offered you articles here, but I thought them inconsistent with this Court. When I look upon my offence (as to the Protector) I conclude my self a dead man but when I reflect upon the favour he hath shewed to others of my condition, and the hopes I have of your intercession, me thinks I feel my Spirits renewed again. My Lords, death is a debt due from Nature; he has now the keeping the bond and has put it in suit by his Attourney: if he please to forbear the serving me with an execution, and let me keep it a little longer, I will pay him the interest of thanks for it, as long as I live, and engage my posterity and a numerous alliance to be bound for me. So the Lord direct you all for the best. If I have found favour I shall thank you; if not, I shall forgive you.

This being done, Serjeant *Glyn* after a most bitter and nonsensical speech gave sentence against us; (*viz.*) to be drawn, hanged and quartered. A pretty exchange for unworthy *Crooks* Articles for life, liberty and estate; which I can prove and will die upon. My tryal held at least five hours. This is as much as at present I can remember of it; excuse the errors.

One of the Jury being asked by a Gentleman why he found me guilty, answered, He was resolved to hang me before he did see me.

I observe treason in this age to be an *individuum vagum*, like the wind in the Gospel, which bloweth where it listeth; for that shall be treason in me to day, which shall be none in another to morrow, as it pleaseth Mr. Attorney.

*Witness, one
Benner and
Stroud who
in open court
confessed to
be guilty of
all they pro-
ved against
mee, yet Mr.
Attorney gave

The * Judges are sworn to do justice according to the Laws of the Land, and therefore have miserably perjured themselves in condemning me contrary to Law: And (not so contented) must cause the Jury (so wise they were) through their false and unjust directions to destroy their own rights and properties, and set up a new Arbitrary and Tyranical Government.

the Jury directions to find them not guilty.

The Judges would not give me their Advice in point of Law, (as was their duty) because they said they were parties; yet could sit still on the Bench in their Robes, to countenance (and approve of my Sentence.

No man can be a Judge where he is a Party in the same cause; therefore my Trial was contrary to Law.

* Hobart Folio
120. Doct. Bonames
case 8. part of Cooks
reports.

The Judges being parties, ought not to sit upon the Bench (but stand by;) therefore my Trial was illegal: the rest being no Judges but the Protectors immediate servants, so could not be my Judges in case of High Treason; for none but the sworn Judges of the Land are capable of it by Law.

One thing of Colonel Dove the reverend Sheriff of Wilt, who that the Jury might be sufficiently incensed, complaining of the many incivilities he pretended were offered him by our party, being upon his Oath, said that one of our men did run him through the side with a Carbine. Surely it was a very small one, for the wound was not discernable.

A great deal of pains every man in his place took for the carrying on their Masters work.

Be merciful unto me O Lord, be merciful unto me; under the shadow of thy wings, will I hide my self till this Tyranny be overpast.

Glory be to God on High, in earth peace, good will towards men; and so have mercy on me, O Lord.

JOHN PENRUDDOCK.

Mrs. Penruddock's last letter to her honourable and dear Husband.

My dear heart,

MY sad parting was so far from making me forget you, that I scarce thought on my self since, but wholly upon you. Those dear embraces which I yet feel shall never lose being
the

the faithful testimonies of an indulgent husband, have charmed my soul to such a reverence of your remembrance, that were it possible, I would with my own blood cement your dead limbs to life again, and (with reverence) think it no sin to rob heaven a little while longer of a Martyr. Oh my dear! you must now pardon my passion, this being my last (oh fatal word! that ever you will receive from me. And know that until the last minute that I can imagin you shall live, I will sacrifice the prayers of a Christian, and the groans of an afflicted wife: And when you are not, (which sure by sympathy I shall know) I shall wish my own dissolution with you, that so we may go hand in hand to heaven: 'Tis too late to tell you what I have (or rather have not) done for you; how turned out of doors, because I came to beg mercy: the Lord lay not your blood to their charge. I would fain discourse longer with you, but Passion begins to drown my Reason, and will rob me of my devoir, which is all I have left to serve you, Adieu therefore, ten thousand times my dearest dear; and since I must never see you more, take this prayer; May your faith be so strengthened, that your Constancy may continue; and then I know that heaven will receive you, whither grief or love will in a short time (I hope) translate.

May the 3. at 11.
a clock at night.

My dear, your sad, but

constant wife even to love

your ashes when dead,

Arundel Penruddock.

Your Children beg your blessing, and present their duties to you.

The

The last letter from the honourable Colonel Penruddock, in answer to his vertuous Lady.

My Dearest Heart,

I Even now received thy farewell Letter: each word whereof represents unto me a most lively Emblem of your affection, drawn with thy own hand in water colours to the Figure of a deaths head. My dear, I imbrace it, as coming first from God and then from Man; for what is there done in this City that the Lord hath not permitted? I look upon every line of thine as so many threads twisted together into that of my Life, which being now woven, my meditations tell me, will make a fit remnant for my winding sheet. Upon the reading thereof, I may say with the Prophet, I should have utterly fainted, but that I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. As this is mine, my Dear, so let it be thy consolation. When I think what a Wife and what Children I go from, and look no further, I begin to cry O wretched man that I am! But when my thoughts soar higher, and fix themselves upon those things which are above, where I shall find God my Creator to my Father, and his Son my Redeemer to my Brother, (for so they have vouchsafed to term themselves;) then I lay aside those relations, and do of all love, my Dear, desire thee, not to look towards my grave where my Body lies, but toward heaven, where I hope my Soul shall gain a Mansion in my Fathers house. I do stedfastly believe, that God hath heard the prayers of my Friends, and thine, and mine: and how knowest thou O Woman, whether thou hast not saved thy husband? Let those considerations raise thy spirit, I beseech thee; and that for Gods sake and mine. Though I lie among the children of men, which are set on fire against me; yet under the shadow of the Almighties wings I will hide my self till this tyranny be overpast. The greatest conflict I have had in this extremity, was my parting with thee; the next encounter is to be with Death; and my Saviour hath so pulled out the sting thereof, that I hope to assault it without fear. Though the Arms of Men have been too hard for me, yet I am now lifting my self under the Conduct of my Sovereign, and an Army of Martyrs, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against. My Dear, I have now another subject to think on, therefore you must excuse the

the imperfections you find here. I have formerly given you directions concerning my children, to which I shall refer you. May the blessing of Almighty God be upon thee and them, and may there not want a man of my name to be ready to be a sacrifice in this cause of God, and his Church, so long as the Sun and Moon shall endure.

Nota bene. Mr. Sebastine Ifack although he seemed very solicitous for Colonel Penruddock in his life, since his death hath been very unworthy to his memory (contrary to his promise, to the said Colonel, in his life) and hath done contrary to the will of the dead, the trust reposed in him, the principle of honour, and much unbecoming a Gent.

with as much love and sincerity as can be imagined, subscribe my self,

Exon May.
7th. 1655.

Thy dying and
loving Husband

John Penruddock.

The

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, which he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exon Castle the 16. day of May, 1655.

As he was ascending the Scaffold, baring his knees, and humbly bowing himself, he used these words; This I hope will prove to be like Jacob's Ladder; though the feet of it rest on earth, yet I doubt not, but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he said,

O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God who hath given me victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then with abundance of Christian cheerfulness he spake to the people as followeth.

Gentlemen,

I have ever been the custom of all persons whatsoever when they come to die, to give some satisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they stand charged. The crime for which I am now to die, is Loyalty, (but) in this age called high Treason. I cannot deny, but that I was at South-Moulton in this County: but whether my being there, or my action there, amount to so high a crime as high Treason I leave to the world and the Law to judge. Truly, if I were conscious to my self of any base ends that I had in this undertaking, I would not be so injurious to my own soul, or disingenuous to you, as to make a publick acknowledgment thereof. I suppose that divers persons, according as they are by their several interests and relation biassed, give their opinions to the world concerning us, I conceive it impossible therefore so to express my self in this particular, as not to expose both my judgment and reputation to the censure of many which I shall leave behind me, Because I will not put others (therefore) upon a

breach of charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves or me. My Tryal was publick, and my severall examinations (I believe) will be produced when I am in my grave. I will refer you therefore to the first, which I am sure some of you heard, and to the later, which many of you (in good time) may see. Had Captain Crook done himself and us that right which a Gentleman and Souldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart: but truly Gentlemen his protesting against those Articles he himself with so many protestations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn so much dishonour and blood upon his own head that I fear some heavy judgment will pursue him. Though he hath been false to us, I pray God that I do not prove a true prophet to him.

Nay, I must say more, that coming on the road to Exon, he the said Captain Crook told me, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe was a gallant Gentleman, and that he was sorry that he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our Articles: but now (said he) I have beset all the Countrey for him, so that he cannot escape, but must be hanged.

He also questioned me, as I passed through Salisbury from London, whether he had given me conditions. Which I endeavouring to make appear to Major Butler: he interrupted me, and unwillingly confessed it, saying, I profered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles: which had been a strange profer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it further appear I injure him not by styling him unworthy, after these Articles were given he profered to pistol me, if I did not perswade another house to yield which then were boldly resisting. To which my servant John Bibby (now a prisoner) replied, I hope you will not be so unworthy as to break the Law of Arms.

Thus much I am obliged to say to the honour of the Souldiery, that they have been so far from breaking any Articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them than otherwise.

It is now our misfortune to be made presidents and examples together, but I will not do the Protector so much injury as to load him with this dishonour; since I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if Crook that gave them had not abjur'd them.

This

This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any subject, since I am now become the Subject of death: But since the Articles were drawn by my hand, I thought my self obliged to a particular Justification of them.

I could tell you of some Souldiers which are turned out of his troop for defending those conditions of ours: but let that pass; and henceforward in stead of Life, Liberty and Estate (which were the Articles agreed upon) let drawing, hanging and quartering bear the Denomination of Captain Crook's Articles.

However I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death.

I should now give you an account of my Faith. But truly Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into so many several opinions, that it is impossible for me to give you mine without displeasing some of you. However, if any be so critical as to inquire of what Faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, Athanasius, and the Nicene Creed, and to the testimony of this Reverend Gentleman Dr. Short, to whom I have unboresomed my self: and if this do not satisfy, look in the thirty nine Articles of the Catholick Church of England; to them I have subscribed and do own them as authentick.

Having now given you an account concerning my self; I hold my self obliged in duty to some of my friends, to take off a suspicion which lies upon them: I mean as to some persons of Honour, which upon my examination I was charged to have held correspondency with. The Marquess of Hartford, the Marquess of Winchester, and my Lord of Pembroke were the persons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now second it with this protestation, That I never held any correspondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular business, or indeed to any thing which concerned the Protector or his Government. As for the Marquess of Winchester, I saw him some twelve years since, and not later; and if I should see him here present, I believe I should not know him. And for the Earl of Pembroke, he was not a man likely to whom I should discover my thoughts, because he is a man of a contrary judgment.

I was examined likewise concerning my Brother Freke, my Cousin Hastings, Mr. Dorington and others. It is probable their Estates may make them liable to this my condition: but I do here so far acquit them, as to give the world this farther protestation; that I am confident they are as innocent in this business as the youngest child here.

I have no more to say to you now, but to let you know, that I am in charity with all men; I thank God: I both can and do forgive my greatest persecuters, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

I have offered the Protector as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he could have expected: if he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I should not have been so ungrateful as to have employed it against him. I do humbly submit to Gods pleasure, knowing that the issues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a small sacrifice, if it had been saved: I am so much a Gentleman as to have given thanks to him that had preserved it; and so much a Christian, as to forgive them which take it. But seeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature; but blessed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a Husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of that cause for which I die, but rather rejoice that I am thought worthy to suffer in the defence and cause of Gods true Church, my lawful King, the liberty of the subject, and Priviledge of Parliaments: therefore I hope none of mine alliance and friends will be ashamed of it, it is so far from pulling down my Family, that I look upon it as the raising it one story high r. Neither was I so prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have used (though none but honourable and honest) means to preserve it.

These unhappy times indeed have been very fatal to my family: two of my Brothers already slain, and my self going to the slaughter: it is Gods will, and I humble submit to that providence.

I must render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this City of Exon, and some persons of quality, and for their plentiful provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to my self; and I desire him to present my due respects to the Protector, and though he had no mercy for my self, yet that he would have respect to my Family.

I am now stripping off my cloaths to fight a duel with death, (I conceive no other duel lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the sting of this mine enemy, by making himself a sacrifice for me: And truly I do not think that men deserting one drop of his

his blood, that will not spend all for him in so good a cause.
 The truth is, Gentlemen, in this age, Treason is an Individuum vagum, like the wind in the Gospel, it bloweth where it listeth, So now Treason is what they please, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a Traitor, can avoid this Censure of Treason: I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my Brothers blood that is now to die with me, may be the last upon this score.

Now Gentlemen, you may see what a condition you are in without a King: you have no law to protect you, no rule to walk by; when you perform your duty to God, your King and Country, you displease the Arbitrary power now set up: (I cannot call it government.) I shall leave you to peruse my trial, and there you shall see, what a condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no question) will be utterly destroyed, if not restored (by Loyal Subjects) to its old and glorious Government. I pray God be try not his Judgment upon England for their sluggishness in doing their duty, and readiness to put their hands in their bosoms or rather taking part with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into such snares; else the Child unborn will curse the day of their Parents birth.

God Almighty preserve my lawful King Charles the Second, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down the wall of Pride and Rebellion, which so long hath kept him from his just Rights. God preserve his Royal Mother, and all his Majesty's Royal Brethren, and incline their hearts to seek after him. God incline the hearts of all true English men to stand up as one Man to bring in the King; and redeem themselves and this poor Kingdom, out of its more than Egyptian slavery.

As I have now put off these garments of cloth, so I hope I have put off my garments of sin, and have put on the Robes of Christs Righteousness here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kissed the block, and said thus: I commit my soul to God my Creatour and Redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my last gasping. Hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God for all thy dispensations towards me.

Then kneeling down, he prayed most devoutly, as followeth.
 O Eternal, Almighty, and most merciful God, the Righteous

Judge of all the world, look down in mercy on me a miserable sinner. O blessed Jesus Redeemer of Mankind, which takest away the sins of the world, let thy perfect manner of obedience be presented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy precious death and blood be the Ransome and satisfaction of my many and hainous transgressions. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, make intercession for me. O holy and blessed Spirit, which art the comforter, fill my heart with thy consolation. O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, be merciful to me, confirm my faith in the promises of the Gospel, revive and quicken my hope and expectation of joys, prepared for true and faithful servants. Let the infinite Love of God my Saviour make my love to him steadfast, sincere, and constant.

O Lord consider my condition, accept my tears, assuage my grief, give me comfort and confidence in thee: impute not unto me my former sins, but most merciful Father receive me into thy favour for the merits of Christ Jesus. Many and grievous are my sins, for I have sinned many times against the light of knowledge, against remorse of conscience, against the motions and opportunities of grace. But accept I beseech thee, the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, in and for the perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction of thy Son Jesus Christ. O Lord receive my Soul after it is delivered from the burthen of the flesh into perfect joy in the sight and fruition of thee. And at the general resurrection, grant that my body may be endowed with immortality, and received with my soul into glory.

I praise thee O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord. O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on me. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, hear my prayer. O Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, Mediatour betwixt God and Man, I have sined as a Man; be thou merciful to me as a God. O holy and blessed Spirit, help my infirmities, with those sighs and groans which I cannot express.

Then he desired to see the Axe, and kissed it, saying, I am like to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetned it unto me,

Then he said, if I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose, I might by a lie have saved my life, which I scorn to purchase at such a rate. I despise such temptations, and them that gave them me.

Glory be to God on high: On Earth peace: Good will towards

wards Men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor Soul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the block, after some private Ejaculations, he gave the Headsman a sign with his hand, who at one blow, severed his head from his body.

The Speech of that piously resolved Hugh Grove of Chisenbury in the parish of Enford and County of Wilts Esquire, beheaded the 16. day of May, 1655. in the Castle at Exon.

Good people,

I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor ever loved long Speeches in all my life; and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death. All that I shall desire of you, besides your hearty prayers for my Soul, is; That you will bear me witness, I die a true Son of the Church of England, as it was established by King Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the first of ever blessed memory: That I die a Loyal Subject to King Charles the second my undoubted Sovereign, and a lover of the good old Laws of the Land, the just Priviledges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties of the People; for the re-establishing of all which I do undertake this engagement, and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody minded Jury and those that procured them: God forgive captain Crook for denying his Articles so unworthily: God forgive Mr. Dove, and all other persons swearing so maliciously and falsely against me: God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God bless the King and all that love him, turn the hearts of all that hate him; God bless you all, and be merciful to you and to my Soul, Amen.

And so meekly laying his neck to the block, and giving a sign, his head at one blow, and a draw of the Axe, was severed from his body.

The Manner of the Execution of Sir Henry Slingsby on Tuesday the 8, of June 1658. upon Tower-hill : With the substance of his Speech before his Death.

ABout Eleven of the Clock Sir Henry Slingsby was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; whither being come, he fell upon his Knees, and for a short time prayed privately.

Then standing up, he did in a short Speech, and with a very low voice, address himself to that noble Gentleman Mr. Sheriff Robinson, telling him that what he had to say he would speak to him; which was to this purpose:

That he had received a Sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garrison of Hull: But said, All that he did in that business he was drawn into by orders.

That the officers of that Garrison did believe he had some greater Design in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: But what he spoke to them in private was brought into evidence against him. He likewise said, That he did no more than any person would have done that was so brought on.

That he had made many applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highness was inexorable.

He did confess that he did deliver a Commission as it was charged against him: (But said, that it was an old Commission, and what he meant was well known to himself; but what construction others had made of it might appear by his present condition.

He discovered little sense of sorrow, or fear of Death; but said, *He was ready to submit, or words to like purpose.*

Then he addressed himself to private prayer again; and kneeling down at the Block he prayed privately for a short space: Then laid his head upon the Block, and at the sign given, the Executioner severed His Head from his Body at one blow: And his Friends put his Body into a Coffin, and removed it into a close Coach prepared near the place.

The manner of the Execution of the Reverend Doctor John Hewyt, D. D. on the same Scaffold, on Tuesday the same 8th of June, 1658. with his speech before his Death.

BEing come upon the Scaffold (togetherw ith *Dr. wild*, *Dr. Warmstry* and *Mr. Barwick*) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the space of a quater of an hour, After that he prayed audibly for a good space.

After which prayer he addrested himself to the people in a speech which continued above the space of an hour, the substance of which Speech was as followeth.

I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and Angels and (I hope) God, who is Omniscient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compassion ; and the more, because I am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witness to the truth, he him self said; *For this end was I born, for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth:* I was brought into the world (the Christian world) for to bear witness to the truth of the Gospel, as a common Christian ; I was brought into the world) the Church,) as a Minister of his blessed Word and Sacraments ; [Blessed be his name for that great honour and dignity ;] and I came into; the world to die more immediately for the testimony of J E S U S, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Common-wealth) to be a member thereof, to bear witness to the truth of the customs, the Laws, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof, So I am a Member of the Common-wealth : And me thinks it seemes to me a strange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and I pleading for the Priviledges the Laws, the Statutes, and the Customs of this Land, yet I should die by those that should stand for the Laws the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land : And I am here beheld by those that plead for there Liberties, and I hope I am pitied, because I here give up my self willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good ; and I had rather die manys death

deaths my self, than betray my fellow-freemen to so many inconveniencies that they might be like to suffer by being subject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Solicitor* having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners of the Court against his Highness, I did often (when brought before those Commissioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *England*: though I had no knowledg of the Law, yet I had instruction from those that were learned in the Law, and had several Law-Cases and Presidents put into my hand, though not by them, and urged several Law-Cases, and made my Appeal. First for the Judicature that I was to be tryed by, whether it were according to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the said Act? I did appeal to have the said Act urged by learned Lawyers on both sides, and then to be resolved by his Highness own Council, which was denied me, [This by the by] I pressing the Argument made a second Appeal that those Judges if they whold give singly their several Judgements that it was a Just and lawfull Court of Judicature, I would answer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highnesse's Council, and pleaded against me, That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and answer to the Charge. What was then said further, my spirits being faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in three-defaults upon formality of the Court. It seems it is a custum in all Courts,) which I did not know before) that if they answer not the third time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded against as mute: [I had no such knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those defaults; and when I would have pleaded, and resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my petition to the Court in the painted-Chamber, two petitions were presented the same in Effect; the former the Title was mistaken: Yet because the Title was mistaken, and no answer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same effect,; with a new Title given (as I remember) presented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in such hast, lest they should be drawn out

out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed my name, and there was in the front of the Petition a word left out, but what the word was I know not, and this was taken so ill as if I had put an affront and contempt upon the Court; And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then because of that mistake, they sent word I should have my answer when I came into the Court; and my answer was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my soul, that God would forgive all those that occasioned the charge to be drawn against me; to give such unjust things against me: I pray with all my Soul, that God would forgive all those that upon so slender and small grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of such simple Ignorance as I was in. And, I had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours, no advantage should be taken against me to my prejudice, in as much as I understood nothing of the Law. And having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be lost in the severity there of merely for speaking a word out of simple Ignorance, I made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken against me to the prejudice of my person: and there was to me a seeming consent; for the President told me, there should be no advantage taken against me: and upon these considerations I am afraid there was too great uncharitableness. But I pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my Soul, and I desire that Even those that shed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the occasion of my coming hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as concerning my self, as I am a Christian, and as I am a Clergy-man. First, as I am a Christian, I thank God I was baptized to the Holy Church, so I was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is the Church of *England*, which I dare say for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till a sad Reformation had spoiled the face of the Church, and made it a quere, whether it were a Church, or no? I say, it was more purely Divine and Apostolical, than any other Doctrine or Church, in the Christian world, whether National, or Classical, or Congregational: And I must tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, so I am

am a Member of the holy Catholick Church, and shall give a most just confession of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am so a Member of the holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all S^ects, Schisms, Sedition and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively so, that as I hold communion with, so I love and honour all Christians in the world, that love the same Lord J E S U S in sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with those truths that are absolutely necessary and clearly demonstrated in the word of God, both in the Old and New Testament, though in charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for salvation through the Merits of Christ Jesus, his blood I rely on, his Merits I trust to the salvation of my own Soul: though to this Faith good works are necessary; not meritorious in us, but only made meritorious, by Christ his death; by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousness, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags, And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you. I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I must now answer some things I am aspersed withall in the world.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practice thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars, for a Plot, of having design upon the City of London, for the firing of it. I so much tremble at the thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design. (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: Nor ever had I correspondency or meetings with such persons as would have carried on such a design. It is said likewise I entertained the Earl, the Marquess of Ormond:

mond: To my remembrance I never saw the face of that honourable person in my life. It is said, one Lords day I did preach at Saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*, and kist the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall say, For these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those places then threescore miles. It is said that I kept correspondence with one *Mallery* and *Bishop*: They are persons I have heard of their names; but never saw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not know they know me: nor do I know them at all, but only as I have heard of their names. And whosoever else hath suggested such things gainst me, I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tell me, I was like a flaming Torch in the midst of a sheaf of Corn: He meaning I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the City on fire by sedition and combustions, and promoting designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many of those who are Judges of the High-Court, that upon examination of the business they have not found me a medler at all in these Affairs. And truly I must needs say therefore That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whosoever they where) that brought such accusation against me, and irritated his Highness against me. I will not say it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was rash zeal which caused me to be sentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a member of the Community on whose behalf I have been speaking, I Cannot but do as our Saviour himself did for his Disciples when he was to be taken from them, he blessed them; and ascended up to heaven. My trust is in the mercy of the most High I shall not miscarry; and however my daies are shortned by this unexpected doom, and shall be brought untimely to the grave: I cannot go without my prayer for a blessing upon all the people of this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the name of God, and beseech God to bless them in all their ways, and his blessing be upon them.

Let

Let us pray.

O Most glorious Lord God, thou whose dwelling is so far above the highest Heavens, that thou humblest thyself but to look upon the things that are in Heaven, and that are in earth, and thou dost whatsoever thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and in all deep places. In thy hands are the hearts of all men, and thou turnest them which way soever thou wilt. O Lord! look in mercy and compassion, we beseech thee, on this great and numerous people of this Land; look upon them, O Lord! with an eye of pity, not with an eye of fury and indignation; O look not upon all those great and grievous sins that have provoked thee most justly to wrath and displeasure against us. Gracious God! who can stand in thy sight when thou art angry? when thou with rebuke dost correct man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away like as it were a Mosh fretting a garment. O Lord! thy indignation and wrath lies heavy upon us, and thou hast vexed us with scourges, thou hast made us a reproch and a by word amongst our Neighbours, and the very Heathen laugh us to scorn. Oh that thou wouldest turn us again, O Lord God of hosts! that thou wouldest shew us the light of thy countenance, that we may behold it; that thou wouldest humble us for all those sins and grievous transgressions that are amongst us; for those Atheisms, for those infidelities, horrid Blasphemies, and Prophaneness, for those Sacrileges, for those Heresies, for those Schisms, Errors, and all those blindnesses of heart, pride, vain-glory and hypocrisie; for that envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness, that hath set us one against another, that we are so dashed one against another, even to destroy each other; Ephraim, against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim, and both against Judah. O Lord! we are like those Moebites and Ammonites, &c. ———— This thou hast done to us, O Lord, because we have rebelled against thee: O how greatly and grievously have we sinned against thee! yet for all this thou hast not requited us according to our ill deservings, for thou mightest have brought us to desolation and destruction: Fire might have come down from Heaven and destroyed us; our foreign enemies, and the enemies of thee and thy Christ our Saviour, might have swallowed us up. What have we not deserved? Yet, O the long-suffering, and patience, and goodness of our God! O Lord our God! we pray thee that thy patience and long-suffering might

might lead to Repentance, that thou wouldest be pleased, thou who delightest not in the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he should turn from his Sins and Live, that thou wouldest turn us unto thee, O Lord ! and we shall be turned : Draw us, and we shall run after thee : Draw us with the Cords of Love, and by the Bands of loving Kindness, by the powerful working of thy holy Spirit in our Souls, working Contrition in our Hearts, and a Godly Sorrow for all our Sins, even a Sorrow to Repentance, and a Repentance to Salvation never to be repented of. Lord break these stony Hearts of ours by the Hammer of thy Word, mollifie them by the Oil of thy Grace, smite these Rocky Hearts of ours by the Rod of thy most gracious Power, that we may shed forth Rivers of Tears for all the Sins we have committed. O that thou wouldest make us grieve because we cannot grieve, and to weep because we cannot weep enough : That thou wouldest humble us more and more in the true sight and sense of all our provocations against thee, and that thou wouldest be pleased, in the Blood of Jesus Christ, to cleanse us from all our Sins. Lord let his Blood that speaks better things than that of Abel, cry louder in thine Ears for Mercy, than all those mischefs and wickednesses that have been done amongst us for Vengeance. O besprinkle our polluted, but penitent Souls, in the Blood of Jesus Christ, that we may be clean in thy sight, and that the Light of thy Countenance may shine upon us. Lord ! be pleased to seal unto our Souls the free pardon and forgiveness of all our Sins : Say to each of our Souls, and say that we may hear it, that thou art well pleased with us, and appeased towards us, Lord ! do thou by the Spirit assure our Spirits, that we are thy Children, and that thou art reconciled to us in the Blood of Jesus Christ. To this end, O Lord ! create in us new Hearts, and renew right Spirits within us : Cast us not away from thy Presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from us ; but give us the Comfort of thy help, and establish us with thy free Spirit. Help us to live as thy redeemed ones, and (Lord !) let us not any longer, by our wicked Lives, deny our most holy Faith, whereof our Lips have so long time made profession ; but let us that call on the Name of the Lord JESUS depart from Iniquity, and hate every evil way. Help us to cast away all our Transgressions, whereby we have Transgressed, and make us new Hearts. Carry us along through the Pilgrimage of this World, supplying us with all things needful for us ; thy Grace alone is sufficient for us : Lord ! let thy Grace be assistant to us, to strengthen us against all the tempta-

temptations of Satan, especially against those sins whereunto we are most prone either by custom or constitution, or most easily provoked. O Lord with what affliction soever thou shalt punish, do not punish us with spiritual judgment and desertions. Give us not over to our own hearts lust, to our vile, lewd and corrupt affections. Give us not over to hardness and impenitency of heart, but make us sensible of the least sin, and give us thy grace to think no sin little committed against thee our God, but that we may be humbled for it, and repent of it and reform it in our lives and conversations: And Lord! keep us from presumptuous sins, O let not them get the dominion over us, but keep us innocent from the great offence, O Lord our strength and our Redeemer. And Lord! sanctifie unto us all thy methods and proceedings with us, fitting us for all farther tribulations and tryals whatsoever thou in thy divine pleasure shalt be pleased to impose upon us: Lord give us patience, constancy, resolution and fortitude to undergo them, that though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, we may fear no ill, knowing that thou, O Lord! art merciful with us, and that with thy rod as well as with thy staff thou wilt support and comfort us: and that nothing shall be able to separate us from thy love which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

And gracious God!! we beseech thee be thou pleased to look mercifully and compassionately on thy holy Catholick Church and grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree together in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. Thou hast promised, O Lord! The gates of hell shall not prevail against thy Church: Perform, we beseech thee; thy most gracious promises both to thy whole Church, and to that part of it which thou hast planted, and now afflicted in these sinfull Lands and Nations wherein we live. Arise, O Lord! and have mercy upon our Sion, for it is time that thou have mercy upon her; yea, the time is come, for thy servants think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust. Lord! maintain thine own cause:—Rescue the light of thy Truth from all those clouds of Errors and Heresies which do so much obscure it, and let the light thereof in a free profession break forth and shine again among us, and that continually, even as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

To this end, O Lord, bless us all, and bless Him——the posterity——which in Authority ought to rule over, and be above us: Bless Him in His Soul and in His Body, in his Friends
and

and in his Servants and in his Relations : Guide him by thy Counsel ; prosper him in all undertakings, granting him a long, prosperous and honourable life here upon earth, and that he may attain to a blessed life hereafter. And, gracious God ! look mercifully upon all our Relations, and do thou bring them to the light of thy Truth that are wandring and ready to fall, Confirm them in thy Truth that already stand : Shew some good token for good unto them, that they may rejoyce. O let thy good hand of providence be over them in all their ways : And to all orders and degrees of men that be amongst us ; Give religious hearts to them that now rule in Authority over us : Loyal hearts in their Subjects towards their Supreme : And loving hearts in all men to their Friends, and charitable hearts one towards another. And for the continuance of thy Gospel among us, restore in thy good time to their several Places and Callings, and give Grace, O Heavenly Father ! to all Bishops, Pastors and Curates that they may both by their Life and Doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rigbly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And Lord ! bless thy Church still with Pastors after thine own heart, with a continual succession of faithful and able men, that they may both by Life and Doctrine declare thy Truth, and never for fear or favour back-slide or depart from the same. And give them the assistance of thy Spirit that may enable them so to preach thy word, that they may keep thy People upright in the midst of a corrupted and corrupt generation. And, good Lord, bless thy people every where with hearing ears, understanding hearts, conscientious souls, and obedient lives, especially those over whom I have had either lately or formerly a charge, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in righteousness and holiness all the days of their lives.

And we beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those that in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity : Lord help the helpless, comfort the comfortless, visit the sick, relieve the oppressed, help them to Right that suffer Wrong, set them at Liberty that are in Prison, restore the banish'd, and of thy great mercy, and in thy good time deliver all thy people of their necessities : Lord do thou of thy great mercy fit us all for our latter end, for the hour of Death and the day of Judgment, and do thou in the hour of Death and at the day of Judgment from thy wrath and everlasting damnation, good Lord, deliver

us, through the Cross and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the mean time, O Lord, teach us so to number our days, and me my Minutes, that we may apply our hearts to true wisdom, that we may be wise unto Salvation, that we may live soberly, godly, and righteously in this present world, denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts: Lord, teach us so to live, that we may not be afraid to die, and that we may so live that we may be always prepared to die, that when death shall seize upon us it may not surprize us, but that we may lift up our head with joy, knowing that our redemption draws nigh and that we shall be for ever happy, being assured that we shall come to the felicity of the chosen, and rejoyce with the gladness of the people; and give us such a fulness of thy holy Spirit that may make us stedfast in this faith, and confirm us in this hope; endue us with patience under thy afflicting hand, and withal a chearful resolution of our selves to thy aivine disposing, that so passing the pilgrimage of this world, we may come to the Land of Promise the heavenly Canaan, that we may reign with thee in the world to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose blessed Name and Words we further call upon thee, saying:

Our Father, &c.

Let thy mighty hand and outstretched arm, O Lord, be the defence of me and all other thy servants; thy mercy and loving kindness in Jesus Christ our salvation, thy true and holy Word our instruction, thy Grace and holy Spirit our comfort and consolation, to the end and in the end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dr. John Hewyt's Letter to Dr. Wild on Monday, June 7. 1658. being the day before he suffered death, and read by Dr. Wilde at his Funeral.

Dearest Brother,

I Have no cause to think that you have not at any time taken me along with you in the daily walk upon your knees to Heaven, but I beseech you and all my Brethren to be (now especially) very mindful to call upon God for me. The more company I go withal, the more welcome I shall be made. I should be loth either to leave out of my Creed, or to be left out of the benefit of the Communion of Saints. Two are better than one. Two or three have the Advantage of a Promise; but to go with a multitude to the House of God, where all comers are welcome, is to be assured beforehand of good entertainment. Admission will hardly be denied to any, for whom there is great opportunity of many: If the Gate be shut, much knocking will open it; or if that would not do it, united Forces would offer an holy violence. Many will prevail, where one alone can do but little good, *Wo unto him that is alone.*

Therefore dear Brother, sith it is the infirmity of our nature, that we live not without the occasions of giving and taking of offence; And 'tis the corruption of our nature that the offences we give, we write in the dust; Those we take, we engrave in Marble. If you know, or shall hear of any one either of my Brethren, or other persons whom by any act of scandal I have tempted or provoked, or lessened, or disturbed, to exclude me the benefits of their charitable prayers or wishes, I beseech you beg of them from me, for me, their pardon. And let not any private wild-fire of passion put out the holy flames of a diffusive charity; And as for my self, I do here protest before God that I do heartily desire to forget the injuries of whosoever has trespassed against me, either by word or deed. And if God should have been pleas'd to have granted a longer life, I would refuse

" (yea I am stedfastly resolved to sollicite terms of Recon-
 " ciliation with them that have done me the wrong) And
 " if my own heart do not deceive me, I would give my
 " life to save the soul of any of my Christian Brethren,
 " and would be content to want some degrees of glory in
 " Heaven; so that my very greatest Enemies might be so
 " happy as to have some. The God of Mercy shed forth his
 " Bowels for them that shed my Blood, and the Blood of
 " Christ save, and the Spirit of Christ sanctify, and sup-
 " port him, who desires to live no longer than to honour
 " the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, and both living and
 " dying craves yours, and the prayers of the whole Church
 " for her unworthy Child, and

Dearest Brother

Tower, June 7.
 1658. Morning
 7 a Clock.

Your most affectionate

Friend, Brother and

Servant in Jesus Christ,

John Hewyt.

Doctor Hewyt's Letter
to the Brethren of the Society
at the Tower of London

FINIS.

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